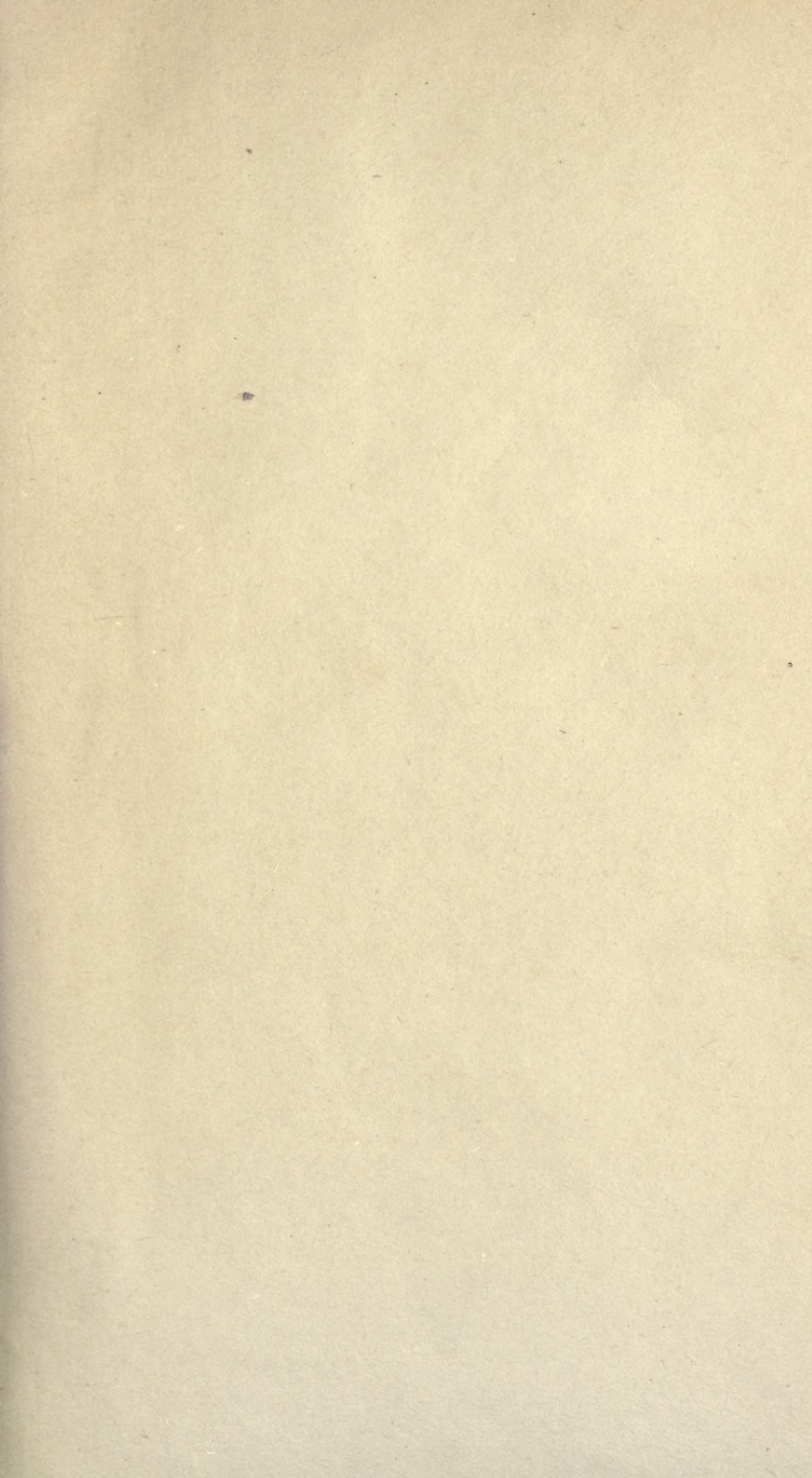


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Admiral John Surman Carden

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A CURTAIL'D

Demoir

OF

INCIDENTS AND OCCURRENCES

IN THE LIFE OF

JOHN SURMAN CARDEN

VICE ADMIRAL IN THE BRITISH NAVY

Written by Himself

1850

NOW FIRST PRINTED AND EDITED

BY

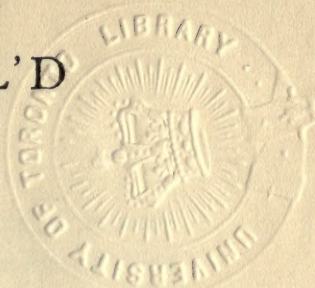
C. T. ATKINSON

FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE, FORMERLY DEMY
OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION

THE naval officer whose autobiography is contained in these pages is not one of the members of his profession whose names are familiar to the reading public in general. By the much more limited circle of students of naval history he may indeed be remembered, but for a very painful incident in his career. In the opening stages of the war of 1812-14 against the United States it fell to the lot of more than one commander of a British frigate to undergo the humiliation of hauling down the Union Jack after an action against a single ship. Among this ill-fated band JOHN SURMAN CARDEN finds a place. The capture of H.M.'s frigate *Macedonian* by the much larger and more heavily-gunned *United States* was not in itself discreditable either to the commander or the crew of the British man-of-war. The *Macedonian* succumbed to superior force after a gallant fight, after incurring very considerable losses and only when the almost complete destruction of her masts and rigging had rendered her incapable of movement. Her capture was a 'regrettable occurrence', of no great importance in itself, and only grave in so far as it was one of a series which was much too numerous: it need

not necessarily have closed a career which, as this volume shows, had been till then one of considerable usefulness, even of distinction. If the most unfavourable construction be put on the matter Carden had only been guilty of a tactical error (cf. the finding of the Court Martial, p. 311), which had perhaps the effect of rendering quite impossible a victory the chances of which were at the best extremely slight. It may not unfairly be assumed that it was not only the losing of the *Macedonian* which caused Carden's career afloat to come to an end in 1812: his own account of his quarrel with the great Mr. Croker, the powerful and influential Secretary to the Admiralty (cf. p. 281), probably supplies the truer reason for his being put 'on the shelf'. After 1815, of course, the reduction of the naval establishment at the conclusion of peace threw any number of naval officers out of employment, and even officers who had not experienced a misfortune such as Carden's found employment afloat and chances of distinction very hard to come by. Carden, though unemployed from 1812 to 1825 and again after 1828, rose to flag-rank in due course by seniority. Curiously enough he makes no mention of this promotion in his memoirs, which are singularly scanty for the years after 1828, but the facts are that after retiring from the service in June 1838, he was restored to

the active list in 1840 and promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral on August 17 of that year (Laird Clowes, *History of the Royal Navy*, vol. vi, p. 544), becoming Vice-Admiral on the retired list in 1848 and Admiral in 1855, three years before his death. But, as has been mentioned, his memoirs tell us so little of the later years of his life that this omission is not very remarkable: to all intents and purposes his story, like his career, closes with the loss of the *Macedonian*. It was as her captain that Carden had fondly hoped to make his mark (cf. p. 257), it is as the man who lost the *Macedonian* that he has come down to posterity so far as he can be said to have come down at all. That this misfortune was deserved will hardly be maintained by those who read the somewhat ungrammatical but vivid and naïve record of his adventurous career.

The family to which Carden belonged had originally lived in Cheshire, whence they had transferred themselves to Kent, but his particular branch had settled in Ireland in the middle of the seventeenth century, having its residence at Templemore in Tipperary. The founder of this Irish branch, the first John Carden of Templemore, was great-grandfather of Sir John Carden, on whom a baronetcy was conferred in 1787. Sir John Carden was first cousin of the Admiral's father (p. 8), so that the Admiral was in the fourth generation from

the original John Carden. His grandfather would therefore have been one of the younger brothers of Sir John Carden's father, John Carden the third, who died in 1774. But one hears very few precise details about the Admiral's relations on his father's side. That there were at least two uncles is clear, as one was killed at Guildford along with the Admiral's father, and the younger one, Captain Jonathan Carden, was desperately wounded there. One can also speak with certainty of two aunts, since the Admiral writes of living, first at Somerville, Co. Tipperary, with his uncle by marriage, Mr. Caleb Minnett, and then of removing to Lisduff to the house of Mr. William Kent, the husband of his other aunt. Of his brothers or sisters we learn nothing, except (cf. p. 13) that the family numbered four in all. One hears more, however, of the mother's family, the Surmans, for his uncle, Mr. John Surman, seems to have taken over all responsibility for young Carden on his leaving Ireland in 1784 (p. 15), and was instrumental on more than one occasion (e.g. pp. 16 and 62) in assisting Carden in his career. But as one notices in more ways than one, there are some curious omissions in the autobiography, and several things about which one would have expected to have full information are never related.

One is in ignorance, for example, of the materials Carden possessed for the compilation of this Memoir.

He does tell us how he came to write it (pp. 258–60), but does not say whether he had any diaries or similar material. Throughout the Memoir there is a marked absence of references. Carden writes in an assured and positive manner, only very occasionally (e.g. p. 11) admitting any doubt or uncertainty, although, as is pointed out in the notes to this edition, a good many of his statements are in conflict with the accounts given by other authorities, or at any rate do not receive support or confirmation from other sources. But it may be added that the discrepancies are mainly on points of detail and are numerous chiefly in the earlier chapters, which is quite intelligible if Carden was mainly relying on his memory. He speaks (p. 260) of giving ‘official documents to guide your judgment’, but the appendices printed on pp. 292 ff. hardly fulfil this promise in a satisfactory manner. He gives, for example, the result of his Court Martial for the loss of the *Macedonian* (pp. 310–12), but not the evidence given, and, for the rest, the appendices do not amount to very much. Orders such as that given in Appendix V (p. 298), the formal record of the grant of the freedom of the City of Worcester (App. XV, p. 316), the formal letter announcing the award of a Good Service Pension (p. 317), add comparatively little to the statements already made in the course of the narrative. The phrase ‘a curtail’d

memoir' might be taken to imply that the autobiography had been cut down from some fuller version, but there seems no reason to suppose that this is so, and one would be glad had Carden been a little more explicit as to 'the essential matter' which 'mere chance did throw into my way' so that he has been enabled 'more clearly to elucidate my early movements in life'. It may, of course, merely refer to the information given him by the blind old gentleman at Tewkesbury (p. 1), but one certainly wishes that the Admiral had given one more indication of the character of his information.

A word or two may be said as to the methods employed in editing. The text is taken from the original manuscript in the Admiral's own handwriting. The spelling has been left practically as he wrote, the few instances (e.g. p. 128) where it has been corrected being mentioned in foot-notes. Capitals are distributed as he used them, and such contractions as 'saild', 'arm'd', 'pierc'd', and the use of the apostrophe are Carden's own. In punctuation more liberties have had to be taken as the Admiral's use of stops is calculated far more to confuse than to assist the reader, but these liberties have been kept within limits and the punctuation is as far as possible unaltered.

There is something peculiarly appropriate about the Gretna Green marriage (cf. p. 7) of the parents

of one who was to have a career as full of variety and excitement as Carden's, but it must be confessed that for the early years of his life his statements are by no means always to be relied on. It is, for example, impossible to harmonize his account of his father's rank and regiment with the evidence afforded by the Army Lists of the period. This being so, one feels a little doubtful whether his memory may not have played him a little false over the really remarkable incidents recorded on pp. 9-13. Not that there was anything out of the common in the eighteenth century in the grant of an ensign's commission to a schoolboy or to a child, but for a boy not yet ten years of age to proceed on active service to America was a startling departure even at that time. Carden's first taste of service was destined to be a melancholy experience. Less than three months after he landed his father was killed in the Pyrrhic victory of Lord Cornwallis at Guilford (p. 11), and the orphan returned homeward with a desperately-wounded uncle only to lose his mother almost directly after reaching Ireland. According to his own statement he held at this time a commission in what is now the King's Royal Rifle Corps, and was then the 60th Foot or Royal Americans. This statement also lacks confirmation by the Army Lists. There was a Hans Carden among the officers of the regiment, but he had served with

some distinction in the West Indies during the war (cf. *Stopford-Sackville* MSS. (Historical MSS. Commission)), and cannot possibly be identified with the then youthful author of these memoirs. Further, as is mentioned on p. 16, young John Carden's name is not to be found in the Army List at the time when he was required to make up his mind as to his career and chose to transfer himself to the Navy. These discrepancies need not, however, leave one with any suspicion as to Carden's good faith. Writing his memoirs as he did (cf. p. 260) at the age of seventy-eight, the lapse of well over sixty years since the events he was narrating may fairly be held responsible for inaccuracies and confusions. As he says (cf. p. 11), 'I have quite forgot what corps my two uncles served in;' and to confuse the 60th Royal Americans with the 'Prince of Wales' Royal Americans' (cf. pp. 8 and 9) is not unnatural. That the boy was given a commission in the latter corps is the obvious explanation. It was, of course, disbanded after the conclusion of peace, as were all the 'Provincial' corps, and it had not the good fortune of being placed for a time on the British establishment, as were a few highly-favoured Provincial units, such as Simcoe's 'Rangers' and Rawdon's 'Volunteers of Ireland', whose officers in consequence received British half-pay after disbandment and can therefore be traced. One may perhaps

conjecture that his friend General Rooke may have offered to get young Carden a commission in the 60th, the more so because in that case there would have been a strong motive for his quitting the Army and joining the Navy. The 60th had originally been raised from German settlers in America (cf. the Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, vol. ii, p. 289), and had continued to be largely recruited from non-British sources, and the Act of Parliament which legalized the grant of commissions in the regiment to foreigners (29 Geo. II, c. 5) laid down that this should be for service in America only. Thus in 1787 a commission in the 60th practically entailed service in the West Indies, never a healthy or popular station, and young Carden may well have preferred a naval career.

Entering the Navy at the age of seventeen, Carden soon found himself anxious to see more of the world than 'the inactive life of a guardship, moored in Portsmouth Harbour' (p. 18) permitted, and it was not long before he was on his way to the East Indies, where he was to spend nearly five years. During this period he had the good fortune to see a certain amount of active service, assisting to beat off an attack by Malay pirates on the recently-acquired island of Penang (pp. 42-7), taking part in the blockade of the ports on the Malabar Coast of India, through which Tippoo Sahib received

munitions of war (p. 48), being present at the first naval encounter in the long struggle between England and Revolutionary France, though strictly speaking the *Résolue* was captured long before war broke out officially (pp. 49-50), and serving ashore with the Bombay contingent of the army attacking Seringapatam (pp. 51-4). In this last employment, when, as he says, he 'became again what might be termed a soldier', he evidently did excellent work, displaying a good deal of the resource and adaptability which the South African War has shown to be still characteristic of the Navy. Rather more fully narrated, and in their way quite as interesting, are Carden's stories of the countries he visited and of their inhabitants, human and otherwise. Whether his accounts of the Andaman and Nicobar Islanders and their ways of life are to be accepted as absolutely correct is not of very great moment—his zoology certainly does seem occasionally (e.g. pp. 27 and 36) to make considerable demands on the credulity of his readers—the interest of the story lies in the picture which it gives of service on a foreign station in the British Navy of that day. The narrative leaves one with the impression that its writer was a man of no little vigour of mind as well as of frame, keenly interested in all that was going on round him, alive to his opportunities for observing men and things, and ready to take the

rough with the smooth. He does not forget the hardships he had to go through, but he does not dwell on them unduly or let them depress him.

Returning to England towards the end of 1793, Carden was soon at sea again. War with France had broken out early in the year, and the Channel station was now the chief centre of naval activity. As midshipman on a fine 74 in Lord Howe's fleet Carden was well placed, and it was his good fortune to take part in the great battle of the 'First of June', of which he gives a vivid, if not wholly accurate narrative (pp. 68 ff.). It is interesting to find him confirming the well-known story of the *Marlborough's* cock, but as is indicated in the notes, his memory must have played him false in a good many details. Thus he is not to be relied on for the names of the various French ships with which the *Marlborough* was engaged, and one or two incidents seem wrongly timed, but, as has been mentioned already, he wrote his account so many years after the event that inaccuracy is not to be wondered at; the vigour and freshness of the story are quite remarkable, and the picture of the resolution and determination with which the *Marlborough* was fought is one upon which one can dwell with real satisfaction. The First of June brought Carden, now some twenty-three years of age, a step in rank, but some little time elapsed before he again saw

any service of note. 1795 and 1796 were not years of great activity in the Channel, for Howe's victory had been a real one. The *Formidable*, to which he followed his captain from the *Marlborough* (cf. p. 86), was not present at the one fleet-action which occurred, Bridport's encounter off Isle Groix in June 1795, and the next incident which Carden narrates is the mutiny at Spithead in 1797 (pp. 87-94). Here again there are discrepancies in the details of his narrative (e.g. p. 88), but it is interesting to have his view of the causes of the outbreak (p. 90). He certainly appears to have held that the seamen had very substantial grievances (cf. also p. 61), and the fact that he was retained on board when the more unpopular officers were landed (p. 89) should be remembered when Leech's¹ account of Carden as a savage martinet (cf. p. 269, note) is under consideration, though it is of course a little difficult to estimate the value of a man's own statements as to his own popularity (cf. pp. 97 and 198).

Carden's next service was also in connexion with an unhappy event, the Irish Rebellion of 1798. He was then serving on Sir Charles Thompson's flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, which was employed in

¹ Samuel Leech, one of the crew of the *Macedonian*, published reminiscences called 'Thirty Years from Home, or a Voice from the Main Deck', a not wholly trustworthy work.

transporting to Waterford two battalions of the Guards to assist in the attack on Vinegar Hill. A party of 'small-arm men' being required to co-operate with the troops, Carden was chosen to command them, and, though too late for the battle of June 21, he was up in time to share in the pursuit, which he did with the greater zest owing to the murder of his uncle, Captain Jonathan Carden, by the rebels (cf. p. 96). Almost immediately after this, dissatisfaction with his position on board the *Queen Charlotte* (p. 99) led to his applying to be transferred to a frigate as first lieutenant, a change which turned out very well for him. His new ship, the *Fishguard*, ably commanded by Sir Thomas Byam Martin, an officer of distinction and ability, had the good fortune to encounter and capture a French frigate of nearly equal force, the *Immortalité*. In effecting this capture Carden distinguished himself by 'his steady good conduct' (p. 105), and was rewarded shortly afterwards by promotion to the rank of Commander, having spent little over four years as a lieutenant.

A comparatively short period of unemployment followed (pp. 112-13), terminated in July 1799 by Carden's appointment to command the *Sheerness*, a 44-gun ship which for the time was being employed as a transport, and was consequently armed *en flûte*, or with her main-deck and quarter-deck guns only.

But this command, if less honourable than that of a vessel fully equipped, brought Carden much service, beginning with the North Holland expedition of 1799 (pp. 114-20), and going on to employment on the coast of La Vendée (pp. 121-6), in both of which ventures he managed to see some fighting. A voyage to Minorca with troops was followed by orders to proceed by way of the Cape to the Red Sea, to assist in Baird's expedition from India, which was destined to co-operate with Abercromby in expelling the French from Egypt. This expedition fills a considerable portion of the Memoir and is one of the most interesting parts of the book, dealing as it does with a comparatively little-known side of an important episode. As Carden justly points out (p. 141), the naval share in the operations was absolutely essential to their success, and his narrative gives one an excellent idea of the sort of work the Navy had to perform. There were transports to be escorted and protected, native chiefs to be cajoled or coerced, supplies to be obtained, surveys to be made, assistance to be given to the troops in getting water, and all this in the Red Sea with hostile natives on both coasts, dangerous and little-known waters to be navigated (cf. p. 136), and a most trying climate. Here also one has many examples of the wide range of Carden's interests. He is full of information about the countries and the peoples

around him, resourceful (cf. p. 132), careful of the health of his crew—his ideas of sanitation (cf. p. 130) have quite a modern air—ready to act decisively on his own initiative, as when he came to the help of his friend at Aden (p. 152). A rather lighter side to the picture is the story of his visit to Cairo (pp. 166 ff.), with his call on the ‘Grand Bashaw’, his equestrian trials (p. 171), his views on the Pyramids (pp. 172 ff.) and on the rising of the Nile, his meeting with the great Mecca pilgrim-caravan (p. 181), all told with that simple cheerfulness so characteristic of the author. The account he gives of Egypt shows that the condition of the country, despite Napoleon’s much-vaunted measures, was deplorable in the extreme.

After the evacuation of Egypt and return of the troops to India Carden was for a time on service in Indian waters, where his only opportunity of distinguishing himself was in a civil rather than a military character, when he and his crew rendered valuable help in extinguishing a great fire in which Bombay seemed on the verge of destruction (pp. 193 ff.). His exertions in this seem to have proved too much for his constitution, and a severe illness made it necessary for him to resign his command and return home invalided. The voyage restored him to health, and so finding that war had again broken out with France, he was able at

once to undertake a new charge, the command of the Sea Fencibles of the Firth of Forth (pp. 203 ff.), a local defence-force of rather dubious utility. Carden strove hard to make them as efficient as possible, but their chief value lay perhaps in their soothing effect on the public mind, greatly agitated by Napoleon's threat of invasion. Such a command was too inactive for Carden, and he soon got transferred to sea-going employment, getting command of an 18-gun sloop, the *Moselle*, in which he served for a time in the North Sea and later off Cadiz and up the Straits. He was unfortunate in getting out just too late to be present at the battle of Trafalgar (p. 212), but, after no very protracted stay on the station, he had the good fortune to be sent home with dispatches by Collingwood and to receive his commission as Post Captain.

As once before, promotion was followed by a spell on shore, over two years elapsing before he was appointed to command a first-rate, the *Ville de Paris* of 110 guns, in which he was present at Corunna when Sir John Moore's retreating army arrived there in January 1809. Of the battle of Corunna and subsequent re-embarkation of the troops Carden gives an interesting account. The most notable feature is his meeting with Sir David Baird, with whom he had already served in India and in Egypt, and the description of the amputation

of the general's arm on board the *Ville de Paris* (pp. 227-9), an account which, it must be noted, is not quite the same as that given in the general's biography, though once again the differences are over details, and do not necessarily discredit Carden's authority.

For so junior a captain it was a little remarkable that Carden should be given so large a ship as the *Ville de Paris*, but clearly this command was of a merely temporary character (p. 235), for his standing did not entitle him to aspire beyond a frigate. But after bringing home from the Mediterranean the worn-out 98-gun ship *Ocean* he was again so fortunate as to be given a fine 74, the *Mars*, then forming part of the squadron with which Sir James Saumarez was upholding British interests in the Baltic. Going out to take command of her, Carden had an adventure of an even more unpleasant than exciting character. Being in a hurry to join his ship, so as to be in time for an expected action against the Russians, he hit on the idea of travelling across Southern Sweden by land in the disguise of an American citizen (pp. 236 ff.). Sweden being then at war with England, discovery would render him liable to be treated as a spy (p. 240). Anxiety to join his ship, however, induced Carden to risk this, and it must have been an unpleasant moment when, while changing horses at

Christianstad, he had the misfortune to be recognized by a Swede who had served with him when he was Lieutenant of the *Formidable*; the incident throws a sidelight on the cosmopolitan character of the crews of British warships at the period. The promptitude of his guide, however, found an escape from this awkward predicament, and Carden was able to join his ship in safety. One can well understand that he should have retained a lively recollection of Christianstad.

His period of service in the Baltic was not prolonged or eventful, and was followed by his transfer to Lisbon in the autumn of 1810, just when Wellington's retreat had lured Masséna on to the *impasse* of Torres Vedras. Carden was thus brought into contact with the great British general, to whom he represents himself as having given some very valuable advice (p. 247); like so many British post-captains he was always ready to carry owls to Athens. Carden returned to England about the time that Masséna began his ill-fated retreat, and on arrival gave up command of the *Mars*, after narrowly escaping from perishing with her in a fire which was only just subdued in time (pp. 249-50). But he had hardly left the *Mars* before he received a command more suited to his standing, and one in which he might hope to remain undisturbed and to achieve distinction. His first

service in his new command, the 38-gun frigate *Macedonian*, was off the coast of the Bay of Biscay; here he achieved one success which pleased him greatly (pp. 252-4), but his ambitions and hopes of distinction were not destined to be realized. Having happened to bring home from the Peninsula Charles Stewart, the brother of Lord Castlereagh and the latter's successor as Marquess of Londonderry, he expressed to his distinguished passenger a desire for an independent cruise in 'the Western Ocean', a wish which was soon after gratified, possibly through Stewart's influence.

But the cruise to which Carden had looked forward so hopefully was destined to be cut extremely short. Less than a week after she had left Madeira the *Macedonian* was lying 'an unmanageable log on the ocean', all her masts gone, half her guns out of action, over 100, out of a total crew of 259, killed and wounded. In engaging the *United States* the *Macedonian* had been endeavouring to overcome a really overwhelming material superiority which only a marked advantage in *personnel* could equalize (cf. pp. 301-2). And to that advantage she could not lay claim. Carden may be unduly disparaging in his remarks on the quality of his crew (p. 302) and may perhaps exaggerate the merits of the crew of his conqueror (p. 266), but the *United States* clearly enjoyed hardly less advantage in men than in

strength of hull and weight of broadside. The result of the encounter then was a foregone conclusion. Carden's tactics (cf. p. 311) may not have been best calculated to improve his chances—the Court Martial was of opinion they were not; but, to enable him to escape defeat, Carden would have needed the luck as well as the skill to be wholly on his side. Into the general question of the American victories in single-ship actions it is not necessary to go at any length here. After all, they did not affect the general result of the war: the *United States* and her consorts were unable to prevent the destruction of American shipping or to stop the British Navy from escorting expeditions to Washington, Baltimore, New Orleans, and other parts of the sea-board of the United States. The fact that the individual ships of which the American Navy was composed were individually stronger and larger than the corresponding rates in the British fleet could not compensate for numerical insignificance. 'Numbers only can annihilate,' and the American ships were strong individually partly because they were weak collectively. It was comparatively easy to win single-ship actions when crews, which could be picked because there were only a few ships to be manned, were pitted against average vessels out of a very large fleet, whose need of good seamen exceeded the supply available. The loss of the *Macedonian* was very regrettable, but perhaps

Carden might have been able to reverse the verdict had he commanded a vessel of approximately equal force and a crew of the same numbers as Decatur.

Carden's narrative of his captivity, release, Court Martial, and return to England calls for little special description, although his accounts of the attitude of the New England States towards the war and of his own hostageship are interesting (p. 273). His quarrel with Croker, already mentioned (cf. p. iv), was probably the chief cause of his unemployment, and, when at last Sir George Cockburn's influence secured him the command of the ships in ordinary at Sheerness, his uncompromising declaration of hostility to Roman Catholic Emancipation—of the bluntness and boldness of which he is frankly proud—can hardly have helped his prospects (p. 287). In 1837, after the death of William IV, whose favour he regards himself as having forfeited by his sturdy Protestantism, he received a Good Service Pension of £150 and, though he says nothing of it in his memoirs, in the following year he retired from the service, being then aged 67. As already related (p. v), he was subsequently restored and raised to flag-rank.

Of Carden's personality one gains an impression clear enough in some respects but indistinct in others. He is singularly reticent about his personal affairs. On p. 111 one suddenly finds him equipped

with a 'good and anxious wife', to whom there has been no previous reference and of whom one hears hardly anything more. It may be noticed that on p. 112 he speaks of the Vicar of Malvern, the Reverend Thomas Phillips, already mentioned (p. 15) as father-in-law to his uncle John Surman, as 'my good grandfather-in-law', from which it may be conjectured that his wife was a granddaughter of Mr. Phillips. Family tradition regards the marriage as not having turned out very happily (cf. note to p. 111), but p. 219 shows that at any rate the separation or divorce was not immediate, and clearly Carden continued to the end of his life on good terms with his daughter—the only child of whom he speaks; though the phrase 'only surviving child' (p. 291) may be taken as proof that he must have had more than this one. But though one is without a good deal of the information which one might expect to find in an autobiography, one has ample material for forming a picture of the man. Carden must clearly have been a man of no small vigour and capacity, ready to assume responsibilities, energetic, impatient of inactivity, anxious for chances of distinguishing himself, enterprising, full of resource (cf. p. 132), and of considerable powers of observation. He would not have been selected so often for employment on shore, as in India (p. 50) and Ireland (p. 96), had he not been a good officer,

capable of acting on his own initiative. One has, of course, to remember that the author of an autobiography is not always to be trusted implicitly when he describes his own motives and ideas, but Carden's narrative is too naïve and simple not to be transparent, and, if he certainly has a good opinion of himself and is always in the right, his pleasure in his own performance is too ingenuous to be objectionable. That he was a man with pronounced views is clear (e.g. p. 287), but it must have required some fearlessness to defy deliberately the powerful Croker and risk his hostility rather than submit for a moment to the assumption of the authority of the Admiralty by a mere civilian Secretary. His attitude to his men and his views on the Spithead and Nore mutinies have already been mentioned, but it may be added that all through he speaks with real interest of his crews and would appear to have been a careful and considerate commander, anything but the martinet he is represented by Leech and—mainly on Leech's authority—by Mr. Roosevelt in the chapter on the American War of 1812-14 contributed by him to Laird Clowes's *History of the Royal Navy* (vol. vi).¹ That Carden was a tactician

¹ Mr. Roosevelt there speaks of Carden as a 'merciless disciplinarian', and talks of the 'unsparing use of the lash', phrases which apparently rest only on the very dubious basis of Leech's account. Nor is there anything in these memoirs to bear out the assertion

of special skill nobody would maintain, but there need be no hesitation in describing him as in many ways a good type of the British naval officer of the period of the Napoleonic war, and, if his autobiography is not a document which adds much to history or contributes anything towards the settlement of any controversy, it has merits of its own which fully justify its publication.

C. T. A.

that Carden had obtained a picked crew for the *Macedonian* and had weeded out all 'slovenly and shiftless' seamen. If one is to trust Carden's statistics, his crew was anything but first-rate and contained only a very small proportion of really efficient seamen. No doubt it was to his interest to represent the composition of his crew in as unfavourable a light as possible, but the version given by James (*Naval History*, vol. v, pp. 394 ff.) gives more support to Carden than to Leech.

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A CURTAIL'D MEMOIR

OF INCIDENTS AND OCCURRENCES IN THE

LIFE OF JOHN SURMAN CARDEN Esq^r NOW

A VICE-ADMIRAL IN THE BRITISH

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HIMSELF WITH AN

APPENDIX.

1850

VERY few Men would venture to put forth to their nearest Friends, during their Existence in this Life, a statement of their career therein. And thus it is that you observe an Author Nam'd and Authoris'd to write such, though all must know that the Sum and substance of such must proceed from the Lip or dictate of him whose Memoir it is.—And being the Transcriber of my own Memoir, if such you are pleas'd to term it, I must Solicit the Reader whoever He, or She, may be, to divest themselves of Criticism in all ways.—I Pen this Narrative of my Life Solely for the Information of My Dear Daughter, Her very good Husband, the Reverend William Henry Biedermann, My Dear Friend & first Cousin, John Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court, Tewkesbury, And my Dear Friend and Connection, John Surman Esq^r of Swindon Hall, Cheltenham.—With them I am assur'd it will be receiv'd with its Original intent & meaning, as a plain and unvarnish'd exposition & detail of Occurrences in a chiefly Sailors Life, Who as a Child of the Frowns or favrs of this World, now in his Advancd Age of 80 Years.—And while He expresses his very sincere thanks for the truly Affectionate Kindness & Esteem they have always Manifested for Him, Trusts He feels conscious of the Manifold Mercies of a Great Omnipotence.—

CHAPTER 1st.

I COULD wish (as Historians & Narrators generally do) to begin at the beginning of so term'd real matter.—But truly, my good Reader, I feel Assur'd you will forgive this lapse of Information, and be content to find that mere chance did throw into my way the detail of Essential matter, which has enabled me more clearly to Elucidate my early movements in Life (Yea, even before I was) So as to permit me to detail my beginning.—Though I Thank My God, not to the end,—As at the Period of my finishing Transcribing my past days I am in tolerable good Health, & much in the enjoyment of this World's good.—

On or about the Year 1784 I was sent by my Good & Benevolent Uncle, John Surman Esq^r of whom I shall have more to say hereafter, to Tewkesbury & on business to his Attorney there (Thomas White Esq^r), And was taken by him to the House of an Old Gentleman, whose name I have forgot, but who was quite Blind.—He express'd much delight at receiving a Visit from the Son of his long absented but much Esteem'd Friend.—He related to me that in the year 1767, My Father, then Lieutenant

John Carden¹ in the 17th Regiment² of Infantry, had a Recruiting party at Gloucester, and became a frequent Visitor at the Martins of Ham Court, & among all the first Families in and about Tewkesbury, among whom he became acquainted with Miss Sarah Surman, the second Daughter of William Packer Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court.³—Being a tall good looking Soldier, with the never failing Influence of a Red Coat, they soon came to what they considered a right Understanding, & at a Ball given at the Town Hall (not where the Town Hall now stands) the said Ball was open'd by the said Lieutenant John Carden & Miss Sarah Surman, in a Country Dance of those days, bearing the name of, *Off she goes*.—And at the Conclusion

¹ After so many years Admiral Carden's memory may well have been a little inaccurate, but it is difficult to account for the discrepancy between his narrative and the *Army Lists* of the period. The list of officers of the 17th Foot contains no one of the name of Carden, for it is hardly possible that the name of Lieutenant C. Garden, which appears from April 1762 to August 1767, may be a misprint for Carden. This officer seems to have been transferred to the 15th Foot in August 1767, but had left that regiment by 1771. There was also a Captain John Carden in the 60th from December 1767 till 1773.

² The 17th Foot were in North America from 1763 to July 1767, when they returned to England and were quartered in Somersetshire, in several detachments; cf. Webb, *History of the 17th (Leicestershire) Regiment*.

³ The village of Treddington lies about two miles out of Tewkesbury, being east of south of that town.

of such Dance, a Post Chaise & four Horses having been previously Order'd by the said Lieutenant Carden & Miss Sarah Surman, Off they did go, & not Halt until they arriv'd at Gretna Green. Where the Ceremony of Matrimony being perform'd, they directly return'd to Treddington Court, Man and Wife.—

I was the second Offspring of this Marriage, and as the Old Gentleman my Narrator express'd to me, I have never heard of, or seen your Father since.

—It may be admitted that I am in the Dark with respect to the Marchings & Counter Marchings of the 17th Regiment,¹ but have found by the Parish Register of Treddington that I was Born at Treddington Court, near Tewkesbury, on the 15th day of August 1771.—

From Substantial information I am quite aware that at the Age of a few Months I was remov'd with the Regiment to Ireland, where it remain'd a few Years, and then it receiv'd Orders to proceed to America.²—My Mother & Family remaining in

¹ The 17th Foot remained in Somersetshire till September 1768, whence they moved to Chatham. They were quartered there or in the neighbourhood till March 1770, with the exception of a period in the summer of 1769 when they moved to Kingston-on-Thames. In 1770 they moved to Newcastle and thence to Edinburgh, crossing to Ireland in April 1771 and remaining there four years.

² In 1775.

Ireland, & resided with Caleb Minnett Esq^r at Somerville, near Birrosokane,¹ County of Tipperary, who Married a Sister of my Father's. I remaind here with the Family until it became necessary to attend to my Education, & for this purpose removd to the beautiful Mansion of Listuff² about five Miles from Birrosokane, the Residence of William Kent, Esq^r, who Married another Sister of my Father.— Mr. Kent had a large Family, and the best Masters of that day to Instruct them.—

At the Age of Seven Years I was removd to the Priory, Templemore, the Seat of the late Sir John Carden Baronet,³ & who was a first Cousin of my Father; he was a Gallant Soldier & a Colonel in the Army.—

My Father, who had Distinguish'd himself on many Occasions, & had advanc'd in Rank, had Orders to raise a Provincial Regiment in America, Nam'd the Prince of Wales' Royal Americans,⁴ &

¹ A mistake for Borrisokane.

² A mistake for Lisduff.

³ i.e. Sir John Craven Carden, created Baronet 1787. He was not at this time in the Army, but obtained the rank of Colonel by raising a short-lived cavalry regiment, the 30th Light Dragoons, which only came into existence in June 1795 and was reduced in February 1796, its officers and men being drafted to other corps.

⁴ The Prince of Wales' Royal Americans was one of the many Loyalist corps raised for the King's service. In 1777 it had two battalions. It took part in the reduction of Charlestown in 1780, and seems for the remainder of the war to have remained in South Carolina.

Subsequently became the second Battalion of the Sixtieth of the Line,¹ and in this Regiment he got the Rank of Major, which was chiefly rais'd in the Southern States.—

A very Sincere Friend of my Father, General Rooke, who at this time was one of Queen Charlotte's Household, Wrote to my Mother to say the Queen requir'd her Personal attendance at St. James's Pallace, to take charge of the Young Princess,² then about two Years of Age, & now is Duchess of Gloucester.³ And also to say I was Nominated a Page to His Majesty George the Third, and Enclosing my Commission as an Ensign in my Father's Regiment.⁴

¹ There is some confusion here. The 60th (now the King's Royal Rifle Corps) was originally raised in America in the Seven Years' War as the 62nd Royal Americans. In 1757 it was re-numbered 60th. It had four battalions during the American War of Independence, which were reduced to two at the peace. It would seem that Carden has confused the titles 'Royal Americans' and 'Prince of Wales' Royal Americans' and attributed to the latter corps a connexion with the 60th of which no confirmatory evidence exists.

² Mary, fourth daughter of George III, born 1776, married 1816 William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, who d. s.p. 1834. The Princess died in 1857.

³ The Duke of Gloucester was the son of George III's second brother William Henry (1743–1805), who was created Duke of Gloucester in 1764, and married the Dowager Countess of Waldegrave in 1766.

⁴ i.e. in the Prince of Wales' Royal Americans. This regiment, being a Colonial corps, does not figure in the *Army Lists*, and it is therefore impossible to verify the statement.

This caus'd an Awful hesitation on the part of my good & Amiable Mother, and though Flatterd by such mark'd attention, She hesitated, and finally objected to Obey the Command, as not having her Husband's sanction, & not possible to obtain it in due Season.—But I am sure, *whatever is, is right* to all those of her well turn'd Heavenly mind.—I again return'd to Somerville, & from the Circumstance of my situation it became necessary I should either resign my Commission or join my Regiment.

—My Father had two brothers in the Army now Serving in America, the younger, Captain Jonathan Carden,¹ had been home on Furlough in Ireland, & was now to return to America. He call'd at Somerville to take Leave, when the decision was form'd that I should with him proceed to join my Regiment.² I will not attempt to Pourtray the feelings of a Fond Mother on this Occasion, Neither can I well describe or relate the circumstances of

¹ A certain J. Carden appears in the *Army Lists* as an ensign in the 60th from August 1772 to April 1775, when he became a lieutenant. After 1776 his name disappears: he may have been transferred to the Provincial corps commanded by his brother.

² It may perhaps be pointed out that the author was at this time not yet ten years old! The practice of granting commissions to children was a common one at this time, but it was not usual in these cases for the youthful officer to join his regiment until he was at least 15 or 16 (Wolfe, for example, went on foreign service at the age of 15), and Carden's case is really remarkable.

or Occurrunces during our Voyage to Charleston, South Carolina.—It was in January, 1781, we Landed at Charleston, where all was as much confusion & bustle, as a Hot War between Relatives & Brothers could render.—

On our arrival I met my Father with all that buoyancy of affection & feeling that can be Imagind to be implanted in so young & consequently inexperienced mind.—

In March Lord Cornwallis concentrated all his available Forces, & soon after, in this Month, March'd out to attack the Americans under General Greene,¹ a name I never can forget.—

The Fight² began, by which Party I know not, But this I know, Success Ultimately Crownd our Army, and all but myself, as it appear'd to me, were exulting in their Victory.—I can never forget the Heart rending feelings of that last day of Battle.—My Gallant Father & his next Elder Brother were Kill'd & my Uncle, Captain Jonathan Carden, with whom I came to America, was desperately wounded ; but I have quite forgot the Regiments or Corps

¹ Nathaniel Greene, though defeated by Cornwallis at Guildford, was probably about the most skilful of the American commanders in the War of Independence. For an estimate of his abilities cf. J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 403.

² The Battle of Guildford Courthouse, March 15, 1781, called elsewhere by Carden the Battle of Charleston. Cf. Fortescue, iii. 368-74.

my two Uncles serv'd in.¹—This Battle though a Victory, with dreadful Carnage, was to me a total defeat of all my then Prospects.—I saw the Corpse of my Gallant Father; his Death wound was by a Cannon Ball, which drove the handle of his Sword & part of his right hand into his Body, the Ball passing through.—

All but myself were exulting, as before stated, in this dear bought Victory. But History will prove that it was the winding up effort of our War with the Americans,² as this said English Army subsequently surrendered to a Man.³—

It would be hardly credible were I to attempt to describe the Miseries & hardships our Armies were said to have endur'd during this American War.—The blind Injustice by which it was Commenc'd, on our part, The Total want of anything like sound Judgment in the Prosecution of it, And ended as might have been expected, in a total failure.—

¹ The Prince of Wales' Royal Americans were not present in this action, in which there were hardly any Provincial troops engaged on the British side, the Guards, 23rd, 33rd, 71st, a battalion of Light Infantry, one of Grenadiers and two of Germans making up the force under Cornwallis. What corps Carden and his relations were serving in it is impossible to trace.

² Fortescue says, 'The victory, though a brilliant feat of arms, was no victory. . . . Cornwallis gained no solid advantage to compensate for the sacrifice of life' (iii. 374).

³ October 18, 1781, at Yorktown (Virginia), to the joint forces of the French and Americans under Rochambeau and Washington.

I was enabled by the great attention of a Sargeant of my Regiment to accompany my Wounded Uncle, some times on a litter, and at others on Cart, until after a long & tedious Journey, at times meeting the frowns & curses, & at other times the Sympathy of the Natives, We reach'd the Neighbourhood of Norfolk, in Virginia, where we got off to a Transport in the Roads, and to England by the first Convoy that Saild.—As to dates, I can recollect none, but I know I reach'd Ireland in the latter part of 1782.—

It is with the deepest sensation of feeling that I still call to mind the dread state of Health in which I found my good & Dear Mother, who heard of the Awful event which had left her in a state of Widowhood. Her heavy Grief brought on what is term'd a Brain Fever, & after ten days of Delirium, after my arrival, a Period was put to the Life of one of the best of Mothers.—A few hours before her Decease she became quite Sane, & took a last farewell of her four Surviving Orphan Children. We were none of us of Age to be aware of the extent of this awful Bereavement, But a Merciful Providence comforted through Life the Orphans of his Inscrutable Decree, and of whom at this Period I am the only Survivor.—

I again had recourse to the Friendly Mansion of my Uncle & Aunt Kent, at Lisduff, for the benefit of the Masters in Tuition attending that Family.—

In the early part of 1783 I was call'd to Borrisokane by my Uncle Minnitt, who Commanded the Volunteer Corps of that Town, to March with them Eight Miles from thence to place a Gentleman in Possession of his House & Premises, which, as in the present day, the Tenant would not Pay Rent for, or give up. On our Arrival we found the House Barricaded, & loop holes cut in the Walls for Musquetry, & Garrison'd by seventeen resolute Ruffians. A summons was directly sent to them to Surrender, which was answer'd by a Volley from the besieg'd, which wounded several of our Party, among whom was the Mathematical Master to the Lisduff Family. We soon found all our efforts could have no avail without a piece of Artillery to Batter the Walls.—We had quite surrounded the House to prevent the Inmates escaping, & were all hesitating what could be done, when one of our Company said to Captain Minnitt, Sir, if you will protect me to that Shed, joining the House, with a high Bank which in some measure screend the Approach, I will soon turn every Mother's Son of them out, & then if they will not Surrender, you can Shoot them very easily.—A Party was immediately order'd with this Man, of which I was permitted to be one.—We had four Men wounded in getting to the Shed, where a Fire was soon lighted, and the Iron of a Pitch fork soon made red hot.—The

House had a Straw Thatch'd roof but cover'd previously by the Ruffians with green turf cut off the Meadow joining.—Several Poles were now tied together, & the heated Pitch Fork plac'd in one end was run into the Thatch of the House, which soon burst forth in Flames, not to be Subdued. And as the Roof began to fall in the Ruffians came forth, & were all Kill'd or badly wounded; the latter were sent on Cars to Clonmel Gaol,¹ & the former were Buried on the spot.—Having plac'd the owner in Possession of his Land, our Captain and Company returned to Birrosokane.—Neither Judge or Jury, that I ever heard of, took any Legal Notice of this Affair, & I only mention it to prove that the same Satanic Spirit Pervades Ireland now as then, & I fear will continue.—

I remaind until the year 1784 among my Relatives in Ireland, for some of the latter period, at the Priory Templemore, & at which Period I was call'd to England, by my Uncle & Brother of my Mother, John Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court, Tewkesbury.—He was at this time residing with his Father in Law at Great Malvern, The Reverend Thomas Phillips, who at his Decease in a good old Age had been Forty two Years Vicar of that Parish.—

Shortly after my arrival at Malvern, I was sent by my good & Benevolent Uncle Surman, & my

¹ MS. 'Goal'.

now only Friend & Guide of my future prospects & progress in Life, to a School at Cradley in Herefordshire, where I remaind more than two years.—A Letter received by my said good Uncle from General Rooke, Informed him that the Period had arrived in which I must either join or resign my Commission, in the now second Battalion of the 60th. Regiment.¹—It may appear odd at this time to hear of a Boy at school holding a Commission in the Army, but at the Period I write of there were Instances of Ensigns in the Army who had not left their cradles.—My good Uncle on the receipt of such letter went direct & calld on the Duke of Beaufort, with whose Family ours had the Honor of being connected, When it was then & there decided that I should quit the Army, & enter the Naval Service.—

¹ The 2nd/60th at the time when these memoirs were written was the battalion raised as the 3rd/60th in 1787 and renumbered as 2nd/60th in 1818, the 2nd/60th of the date referred to, which is more probably the battalion Carden means, having been renumbered as the 1st/60th in 1818. In the *Army List* for 1786 Carden's name does not appear, neither among the officers on the establishment of the 60th nor among those on half-pay, who had belonged to the two battalions reduced at the peace.

CHAPTER THE SECOND

No time was lost by my good Uncle in taking me to London, and giving me the necessary outfit, & on the 28th day of May, 1788, was plac'd by him in a Portsmouth Coach to join His Majesty's Ship Edgar of 74 Guns, Commanded by Captain Charles Thompson, who was a *very near* connection of the Beaufort Family.—

It is worthy of remark, that Captain Thompson¹ was also a Passenger in this Portsmouth Coach, & who observing my Naval Sword of those days, ask'd what Ship I belong'd to,—This produc'd the very gratifying Information to me, of my being at once under the happy guidance of my Chief, to whom I tender'd my letters of Introduction, & that night join'd my Ship with a light Heart.—I receiv'd very much attention from my Captain & his good Lady, who at that time resided at Gosport,—

I was Enter'd on the Ships Books of the Edgar as Captain's Servant,² being at that period the only

¹ Charles Thompson (1740–99) Rear-Admiral 1794, Vice-Admiral 1795, a Baronet 1797.

² Captains R.N. were allowed to include among the servants allotted to them the names of boys who were borne on the ship's books before being rated as midshipmen. Years in which a boy was thus borne on the books were included in the 'service' needed as a qualification for lieutenant's rank.

designation of young Gentlemen entering the Naval Service, but now they are termed Naval Cadets on entering the Service.—

In a week after this Period we hoisted the Flag of Rear Admiral Leveson Gower,¹ & in the end of June sailed with Eight Sail of the Line, besides Frigates, Brigs, &c. on a Cruise of Observation, as it was termed.—We communicated frequently with the Coast of Ireland, & having kept the Sea for Six weeks, in almost a constant Gale of Wind, Returned to Portsmouth, except the *Andromeda*, Commanded by His late Majesty William the fourth, who was Dispatch'd to Hallifax on our making the Edystone Light. On our arrival at Portsmouth Harbour, where the *Edgar* was to remain a Guardship at her Moorings, we found the *Perseverance* Frigate of 36 Guns fitting for the East India Station, & commanded by Captain Isaac Smith, who as a Lieutenant Circumnavigated the Globe with Captain Cook, & was with him at his Death by Massacre & by the Natives of one of the Islands² in the South Pacific.—

I now felt a great wish to get rid of the Inactive Life in a Guard Ship, Moored in Portsmouth

¹ John Leveson-Gower (1740–92), at this time a Lord of the Admiralty and in command of the Channel Squadron; Rear-Admiral 1787.

² At Hawaii, February 14, 1779.

Harbour; & did promptly apply to Captain Thompson to obtain my Entry in the *Perseverance*, which was very soon accomplished, and I joined her in the early part of October.—My good Uncle again fitted me with all the necessaries for a long Foreign Station, and in the end of December we Sailed for the East Indies, with the *Crown* 64 guns, bearing the Broad Pendant of Commodore Cornwallis,¹ Brother of the then Lord Cornwallis, Governor General of India, The *Phoenix* of 36 guns, Captain Byron,² the *Ariel* Sloop of War, Captain Moorsom, & the *Atalanta* Sloop of War, Captain Delgarno.—

We left England before Christmas 1788, Called at Madeira, Teneriffe, & St. Jagoes, for refreshments, & on to Rio Janeiro on the Coast of Brazil, a Splendid Harbour, a fine City, and the Aqueduct to the City is a most Splendid work of Art.—From Rio we proceeded to the Comoro Islands,³ & calld at Johanna.—This is a Beautiful Fertile Island, and in former periods to which I now write a constant resort of our India ships Outward Bound.—

The sight of so large a Squadron of Men of War

¹ Sir William Cornwallis (1744–1819), nominated Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, October 1788; Rear-Admiral 1793, Vice-Admiral 1794, Admiral 1799. His great services when in command of the fleet blockading Brest in the Napoleonic wars can hardly be too highly rated.

² Afterwards replaced by Captain Sir Richard Strachan.

³ In Lat. 11.30° S., Long. 43.0° E., midway between the northern end of Madagascar and the E. coast of Africa.

set the Inhabitants in a great Ferment, all hands of them were soon afloat, and Canoes innumerable were off to us before we anchor'd.—The King & all the Chief Men of this Island had, by the dictate & frequent intercourse of our India ships, Usurp'd the Royal & other Titles of our Sovereign and Noblesse ; so that on their arrival on board, from the Sovereign Prince of Wales, & downwards, we beheld the copper-colour'd representatives of the Aristocracy of Great Britain.—It was surely very unlucky that the Prince of Wales, coming along side in his Canoe, should have been upset, & the Person & Heir to the Sovereignty of Johanna should be very uncerimoniously plac'd in Neptune's watery Arms ; however he was pick'd up, though far astern, with his Tinsel Crown & all in safety.—On his arrival on board he appeared in a great Rage, & declar'd we should not have one bit of Bullock or one Cup of Water from the Island.—Captain Smith sent the whole party to the Commodore's Ship, & an Officer to explain the case, when the Prince being told that, if supplies were refus'd, their Town & Island would be destroy'd, the whole party fled on shore, & all they could collect, that was wanted, (water was the Chief) was obtain'd direct.—It again happen'd rather unlucky for the Prince of Wales, that his Brother the Duke of York was caught in the Act of Stealing the Captain's Tea Caddy, for which he got a good

Flogging & was sent on Shore to proclaim the result of his Nefarious effort.—

Having Completed our Water & Fresh Stock for the Crews of the Squadron, we Sailed for Madrass, where we arriv'd in due time, having made our Voyage out in Seven Months, with our Ships in good Order, & Crews in good Health.—

The very heavy Surf always rolling on this shore precludes the possibillity of communicating with the Shore in the Ship's Boats, and all intercourse is by the Native Masvolah Boats; they are large & commodious, & built without a Nail or Bolt; they are Sown together, flat bottomed, & manag'd by Crews who serve the full available part of their Lives at Labour in those Surf Boats, & manage them with great skill, & but very few Accidents.—

Having overhaul'd our rigging, & put our Ship in Order, Commodore Cornwallis hoisted His Broad Pendant on board the Perseverance, when we sailed for the Ganges, & Calcutta.—Being arriv'd off the Sand Heads, at the Entrance of the Ganges, we encounterd an Awful Storm of Thunder, Lightening, Wind & rain. During its height a Vessel near us to windward was struck with the awful Lightening, took fire and blew up, nor could we offer any assistance, and soon after a heavy body of Lightening struck the head of our Foremast, pass'd down through its Centre, & came out about two feet above the

Deck, Killing two Men and scorching several others.—As I was one of those on this Morning Watch, I can well attest the Awful scene.—The Fore Mast of our Ship was stop'd on the Ship's Kelson in the Fore Magazine, & had the Lightning proceeded a few feet more downwards, in one Second all hands would have been call'd to Eternity. Such was the Mercy attendant on us.—The storm did not last very long, and the next Morning receiv'd a Pilot on board who took us safe up the Ganges, & Moor'd the Ship in Diamond Harbour, more than half way up to Calcutta.—The Commodore & Captain proceeded in a Splendid Boat, call'd a Snake, & paddled at great Velocity by Twenty four able Men, with the Tide up to Calcutta. In a few days after I was Order'd up to join the Captain, taking up my abode at his Lodgings, or rather Official Residence of Naval Captains, which is provided for them at each of the Presidencies in India by the East India Company.—I was much struck with the Grandeur of this City of Palaces, & the Splendid Grandeur of the Governor General's Establishment, nor will I attempt to describe the Sumptuous luxury of all around me, & had the Honor of dining several times at the Governors Table.—I was early to walk each Morning with Captain Smith, before the Heat of the day set in, always having our Palanquins attending us, but

with only four bearers, and after ten days rejoin'd my Ship at Diamond Harbour, Fully aware of the difference between the Governor General's Magnificence, and a Midshipman's Berth in the Between Decks of a Frigate.—

I have here to mention a Circumstance which very strongly Pourtrays the Bigotry in Religion of the Natives of India in those days. I was one fine Morning walking with Captain Smith on the Banks of the Ganges, & as was then the Custom, several Native Corpses, which were really so, or decreed by their Caste of Religion to be so, were being brought down to low water mark, for the Tide to remove them with the Ebb To their watery Grave.— On our returning along the Beach, I observ'd one suppos'd Corpse with a Nervous twitching of the Limbs. I directly told Captain Smith of it. He came up, & was soon assur'd of the reallity of Life. He directly ordered his Palanquin, & plac'd the once suppos'd Dead Man in it, & sent him up to his House.—The Surgeon of our Ship happen'd to be at the Captain's House at this time.—The Man was duly & truly attended to, & finally recover'd perfect Health, & with many Caresses & thanks to Captain Smith took his Leave to join his Caste & Family.—He was well cloth'd & [? given] some pecuniary aid on his leaving, for all our Establishment felt much Interest in this Mans case.—In a few days

after, this Miserable Creature return'd to Captain Smith's House, dejected and Wretched, But with a grateful Heart, reiterated his Thanks for the kindness bestowd on him, & proceeded to explain that his Caste had violently refus'd his return to them & his relatives, and not being enabled to pay the fine Imposd to recover Caste, he felt this World no longer his Home, & with many kind expressions of feeling for all in our House, rush'd from the door in Agony & despair.—One of our Retinue soon follow'd him, but he outran the Servant, and from one of the Piers of the Ganges Sprang into the remorseless Wave, & swept by the rapid Tide was seen no more.—This I have been inform'd was not a Singular case, and at a future period (1800), when seven Thousand Bayonets of the Indian Army were sent in Transports to reinforce the British Army in Egypt, (& with whom I serv'd)¹ & to rescue it² from Buonaparte, The East India Company agreed to Guarantee the Hindoo & other Priests, in a certain Sum of Money, for the Caste of those Troops Employd on that Service.—

We had little to amuse during our six weeks anchorage at Diamond Harbour. There was some fun in obliging all Merchant Ships, & of all Nations,

¹ Cf. Chapter IV.

² 'it' is obviously Egypt and not the British army, which was in no need of rescue.

by 18 Pound Shot to strike their upper Sails, of what kind they might be, in passing the British Flag in a British Man of War.¹—Among others the French were not omitted. This case subsequently call'd forth a remonstrance from the French Government, & as soon as could be an Order was receiv'd from our Government to direct the Commodore to discontinue this over stringent proceeding, & further explain'd, that this Tribute of respect could only be exacted in the British Seas, & those only extended to Cape Finistre.²

—At this period the Neighbourhood of Diamond Harbour was beset by Jungle, with some few fields of Paddy (Rice), and the Tigers & Jackalls were numerous.—The East India Company had a party of Tiger Hunters here & did much Service, But the Aborigine Beasts were Bold & undaunted.—I went on shore one day with a Messmate, taking our Guns, & were strolling along a Path through a Paddy Field, near the Company's Ware Houses, where a Frenchman kept a small Tavern, When immediately a Tiger sprang up from the thick grown Paddy, & seiz'd a waiter, a Native, who was then walking

¹ This 'right of the flag', which was claimed in the Narrow Seas at home and enforced on many well-known occasions, did not of course extend to Indian waters, but it would seem that the courtesy exacted here from foreign vessels was due on account of their entering a British port.

² i. e. Finisterre.

between us, walking off with him in his Mouth. We had our Guns loaded with small shot, & to Fire such at the Beast would be useless.—My Companion seperated and returnd to the Tavern, & I went on to a Gate on the other side of the Field, close to which were some Toddy Trees. (Toddy is a favorite drink of the Natives, which exudes from an incission in the Tree, & is caught in Earthen Pots suspended under it.) I hastily ascended one of these, by the steps or knotches cut to get the Toddy, & soon saw the Tiger leap the Gate still holding the Victim of his Voracious Appetite. I now felt secure and took good aim, & hit the Tiger hard, He drop'd the Man, gave a horrid roar, & a look at me I cannot forget, & went off to the Jungle.—My Messmate had communicated with the ship, & a Boat's Crew with the Assistant Surgeon soon arrivd & several of the Natives. The Wounded Man was all but dead, & on the Surgeon attempting to Examine his Wounds, the Native byestanders resisted, Exclaiming It were better the Man should Die than lose Caste by our Surgeon dressing his Wounds, but he soon Died, & we returned to our Ship, quite resolv'd not to take any more sporting Excursions.—

The Aligators in the Ganges are Numerous and of great size, some Forty feet in length. I have very frequently seen them floating down the River with the Ebb tide, Mingled with the Dead bodies of the

Natives wash'd from the Shores, which they never touch, but any warm or living substance they never pass.—They float down the Stream with the upper Jaw Erect, which is nearly one third of their whole length, I conclude to Catch Flies, which resort to any fleshy substance, & when in numbers within the Jaw fairly settled, are caught by its sudden fall.—I am not aware of any other Animal who moves only the upper Jaw.—I have frequently seen them on the Banks of Mud at low water & fired Cannon Grape Shot at them, & though hit, they have always escap'd to the water.—I was one day on Duty with a gang of Men, Tarring the Ship's Bends, & observ'd five Buffola¹ Cows walking above fetlock deep on the Shore opposite the Ship at low water, I remark'd their situation to an Officer on the Gangway, and my doubt of their safety. I had scarcely finish'd my remark, when an immense alligator came up behind them, & making a very adroit Manœuvre, caught the hindmost Buffalo by the Body, & carried it into the River, with as much rapidity & ease as a Cat would take a Mouse in a Barn. Nor could I at all observe the Animal to struggle, so quick was the movement which convey'd both to the bottom of the Ganges; & those Buffalo Cows are larger than the Cows of our Country.—The first Lieutenant sent on Shore to

¹ *Sic* MS.: i. e. buffalo.

the Owner, who was the Post Master, to acquaint him of his loss, when the reply was, that early that Morning the Keeper & his Son had been taken by the Tiger, which was the cause of the Buffalo Cows straying to the River.—

We had soon after a Melancholy occurrence on Board. We always killd the Bullocks on board for the use of our Crew of 250 Men, when one Morning, I having the Morning Watch, heard a Halloo from the Fore-Castle, where the Bullocks were Slaughterd (a Man overboard). I immediately had the Stern Boat clear for lowering, & on looking over the Stern of the Ship, saw an immense Alligator (some of whom always attended the ship to receive the hot Paunches of the slaughter'd Bullocks) Throw up his Jaw, & literally suck'd the Man down, without at all masticating the Body of this fine young Man, who was the Son of the ship's Cook.—

This Anchorage being close to the Shore, & hemd in by Jungle & Swamps, prov'd very unhealthy, we lost our first Lieutenant Roberts, several Midshipmen and Seamen, whom we buried near the Company's Storehouses, or Banks Hall, as they term them. But the Jackalls here were in such numerous Herds that the Graves, though deep, & Stack'd¹ round, were always open'd by them & the Bodies Eaten.—

¹ i. e. staked.

Every person on board our ship was now heartily tir'd of Diamond Harbour, & after near two Months' stay were rejoiced to receive on board our Commodore & Captain with all their Retinue again.—There being no Steamers in those days Thirty Row boats attended our Ship to the entrance of the Ganges, where our Skilful Native Pilot left us in 1790.—We proceeded direct along the Bhurmese Coast, the Coast of Malay, & on to the Straits of Mallacca, & taking a careful View of the Islands & Seas in our Voyage, anchored in the Roadstead of Pulo Penang, now call'd Prince of Wales's Island.—This Island belongs to the King of Queda,¹ on this Malay Coast, & was given by him to a Mr. Light, who Commanded a Merchant Ship on this Coast, & who Married the King of Queda's Daughter, & a Noble Dowry worthy of a King to bestow.²—

This Beautiful Island is Rich in its Productions, luxurious in Spices, Fine Timber, & the Soil amply returning the labour of Cultivation. Fine water from pure streams, Buffalo Beef in abundance, & the finest Poultry I ever saw. A great number of

¹ Or rather Kedah.

² This transaction had taken place in 1786, the island of Penang being ceded to Captain Light, acting on behalf of the East India Company, in return for an annuity of \$6,000. Possession was taken of the island on the birthday of the Prince of Wales, whence its name. In 1796 it was made the penal settlement for the Bengal Presidency.

Chinese had settled here under Governor Light, who had built a tolerable good Fort & obtained from the East India Company a Company of Bengal Seypoys¹ to Garrison it, Commanded by a Captain Glass.—We remaind here a Fortnight & proceeded to Sea, making a careful Inspection of the Coast and Islands in our Route. At length we Anchored in a Splendid Harbour, now call'd Port Cornwallis, in the Great² Andaman Island.—The East India Company had taken possession of those Andaman Islands, the largest of which we were now Anchord in.—The whole of the Great and Little Anaman³ Islands is cover'd with Wood, some very large & fine Trees close to the waters edge, and a Shrub Tree calld Mangrove grows in the Salt water along the Shore, on which Oysters in great numbers are firmly adherd. It was a favorite amusement to send a few Men on Shore from the Boat, along the edge of the shore to beat the Bush with Poles, the Boat directly opposite to them outside, when fine Fish of the Mullet tribe would frequently spring

¹ The occupation of this island in September 1789 and other places in the same quarter, such as Bencoolen in Sumatra, led to the formation in 1795 of a special corps of sepoys, known as the Marine Battalion, for the service of these settlements, the ordinary regiments of the Bengal establishment having a strong objection to voyages overseas, which had led to trouble on several occasions: cf. Williams, *Historical Account of the Bengal Native Infantry* (1817), pp. 216 ff.

² i. e. the North Andaman Island,

Sic MS.

from the Bush into the Boat, So that odd as it may appear, it is no less a fact, that we took Fish & Oyster Sauce from the Trees of this Island.—

The Natives of these Islands are perhaps the most Abject, Diminutive, & Savage Canibals in the World.¹ The only clothing we ever saw among them, Male or Female, was a Coating of Clay Mud, to preserve them from the numerous Insects, which are here very troublesome, & as it dries on them it becomes a light colour, which gives them a singular & Ghost like appearance as they stroll along the Shore.—These Natives are extremely expert with the Bow & Arrow, I have frequently seen them shoot Fish with an Arrow loaded at the inner end, which on striking the Fish turns it up by the weight on the shaft, & they seldom miss their Aim.—They are also very expert swimmers, & the Rocks on their Coast abound with Oysters, consequently there are Numerous Rock Fish, & those seem to be the staple food of the Coast Natives.—They manufacture a beautiful Network, which they suspend from a hoop, a foot or more diameter, with a stick across its Centre, & with one of those in each hand they Dive among the Rocks, often remaining from four

¹ The inhabitants of the Andamans are a negritic race, small, with curly hair, and very dark skins. They are quite distinct from the people of the Nicobars, who are even more savage but more akin to Malays than are the Andamanese.

to six minutes under water, & appear again on the surface with Fish in each net ; they will then tread water to the Shore with their Arms erect, keeping the Fish secure.—

On a small Island in the Harbour, which was Nam'd Chatham Island, we built a small Mud Fort, with two Six Pounder Guns, & plenty of room for Musquetry. At this time none of the Natives had been on Board any of our Ships, but seeing the Fortification, they very determinedly resolv'd to drive our party off.—They collected a party of near three hundred Men, & in Canoes rudely hollowed out from Trees, made their appearance on Chatham Island one good night.—The Boats of our Ship were on the Alert at all times, as was those of a Brig belonging to the Bombay Marine, the Naval Force of the East India Company. On the Natives Collecting on the Island, the two six pounders & Vollies of Musquetry were fir'd over them, but their total Ignorance of those Weapons of War did not at all deter their approach. They threw their Arrows & Spears in great numbers, & attempting to Storm, the Men in the Fort felt oblig'd to Fire at them. Some fell, & some [were] badly wounded, & all so alarm'd that they commenc'd a quick retreat. The Boats follow'd them, but they left their Canoes & took to swimming.—One of the Brigs Boats, who was early in the Chace,

stuck close to one Man, who Div'd & rose, as may be seen in a Duck Chace.—The Officer of this Boat determin'd to make one Prisoner, He fir'd his Pistol at this Savage, which graz'd his Nose, & ultimately destroy'd the sight of one Eye.—Even Under this situation of Peril the Savage threw himself on his Back, and with unerring Aim, plac'd his Arrow in the Arm of the Bowman of the Boat, & then only submitted to capture, being desperately wounded, & was convey'd on board our Ship.—Under Surgical care his Wound was soon heald, but the sight of his eye was lost.—The only word we heard him articulate was Delpo, & after he was designated by that Name.—A Vigilant watch was kept on this Man to prevent his escape; he was wash'd & Cloth'd and treated with much attention, as we hoped to Civilise him, & through his means many others, but in no way could we comprehend any part of his articulation as Indicative of his wants, nor were we aware of such by any of his gestures.—

About a Month after the Brig belonging to the Bombay Marine Sail'd for Calcutta, & took Delpo a passenger, with the hope of finding some Individual or persons who had communicated with the great Indian Archipelago, & who in any degree comprehend the language of those Andaman Savages, but no Comprehension or similitude could be obtain'd, nor is there at this day of my writing.—

We remaind some time longer in Surveying this Harbour.—The Natives became more assimilating in their manner, would come to the Shore, & lift up their hands & arms, as we suppos'd in token of Friendship, & as we were always arm'd in the Boats did not hesitate in meeting them, & by degrees they gaind Confidence to come on board.—Every effort was made to concilliate these Natives. Clothes they sternly refus'd ; Bread, Grog, Pudding such as the Crew ate, they declind ; But the raw salt meat from the steep tubs, they devourd voraciously.—And after the first party had been on board, we had frequent parties of those most Voracious Natives, who came off to Feast on the Salt Meat from the Steep Tub, where it was plac'd to extract the Salt, for the use of the Crew on the succeeding day. And on no occasion did we see either Male or Female, but in a perfect state of Nudity.—

On going along the shores we had frequent Vollies of Arrows from the Natives, & by keeping the Canvass Awning Sloping in Shore, which was always carried, or straind over the Boats, to preserve the Crews from the heat of the Sun, we were surely secur'd from frequent Wounds.—We left this place in time before the S.W. Monsoon set in to get on to Madrass, on the Coromandel Coast, & on our Route thence call'd at the Nicobar Islands.¹

¹ These islands, which lie north of Sumatra and south of the

Between two of the largest is a narrow Navigable Channel, from which in the centre of each Island, an arm of the Sea runs up, which forms a good Harbour.—In one of these we were now running up with the Ship.—I was station'd in the Fore Top, (this was my station as the Officer there on all occasions of Gales, Calms, or Battle, during the whole time I belong'd to this Ship) & keeping a good look out, I gave the alarm of a Shoal ahead.—The Anchor was let go as soon as possible, but the Ship having Fresh way on her, she dragg'd the Anchor, & ran her Bows into a Coral Bank.—The Harbour was too Narrow to Steer the Ship on either side of the Shoal, but as we went on easy, & the water quite smooth, By getting the foremost Guns Aft, & Stream Anchor out astern, we hove her off without damage.—At this time those Islands were in possession of the Danes, with a Sergeant's party in Garrison, just abreast our Anchorage.—The Inhabitants are most Chiefly Malays¹ & Chinese, the latter of whom frequent those Islands to procure Birds nests, very much esteem'd as food in China.—They are compos'd of a Glutinous substance, by a small Bird like the Marten, & who appear

Andamans, were at this time in the possession of Denmark, and did not pass to Great Britain till 1869.

¹ This statement is approximately true, inasmuch as the islanders are certainly of the Malay type.

to collect the Material from the surface of the adjoining Ocean, & is taken to China by Vessels regularly calling at those Islands, one of whom we had formerly spoken, with a full Cargo on Board.

The Soil here produces fine Bananas, Plantains, Yams, good Poultry ; & we got some Beef.—I was much surpris'd to hear a Man who came on board request the Captain not to allow our Men to Bathe on the shores of the Harbour, as the Oysters were so large that should they slip their foot into one of them they would likely nip it off.—I doubted the truth of this statement, until I happen'd to *see* a Cow walking along the Beach at low water, whose foot slip'd into an Oyster & was held there, until the Owners appear'd with Bar & Axe & broke it loose.—The Shell Fish here are of most extraordinary size. I have seen a Cockle whose shell would hold a Gallon.—The Meat of those Fish made good Soup for the ships Company.—I saw an Oyster Shell on shore plac'd as a Bath for the Children of a Family.—

After a fortnight stay here we up Anchor for Madrass, when the Commodore join'd his own Ship, the Crown of 64 Guns.—As soon as we had receiv'd the necessary Stores and Supplies, and some fitting of Rigging perform'd, we proceeded to Survey the Coast of Coramandel, on to the Mouth of the

Ganges.—From Masulapatnam and Coringa¹ we got fresh Meat and Vegetables.—

I cannot refrain to relate a very odd circumstance which I had verbatim from the mouth of Lieutenant Uzzle, R.N., who was an Agent of Transports.—He was laying at Spithead Loaded & ready for Sea with five Sail of Transports, Laden chiefly with Rice, for the Supply of the West India Islands. Another Convoy was also laying there with Munitions of War for the East Indies.—The then Navy Board,² who had the Control of the Transport Service under their management, by Mistake sent the Orders for the East India Transports to the Lieutenant of the West India party, When a fair Wind soon sent each party out of the power of recall.—Lieutenant Uzzell made his Passage out to Madrass, East Indies, in good order & in Seven Months, with his Wooden bottomd ships, that is none were Copper'd, & by the foul state of the Ships' bottoms, by weed & Barnacles, they became

¹ Otherwise called Karonja : a port at the mouth of the northernmost arm of the Godaveri, about 80 miles north-east of Masulipatam.

² Previous to the changes effected by Sir James Graham in 1830, when the civil departments were brought under the direct control of the Board of Admiralty, the Navy Board or Board of Principal Officers (set up first in 1546 by Henry VIII) had administered the supply services, thus securing that those entrusted with the executive control should be free from details of administrative work.

heavy Sailors.—When Lieutenant Uzzell arrivd at Madrass, a very fearful Famine was in that Land, & the chief Cargo of his Ships was a very *Providential* supply.—On our arrival at Coringa Lieutenant Uzzel had sold two of his Ships, to pay the expenses of repairing the other three, as being the most beneficial means of securing the Owners of the Transports, & thus enabling Lieutenant Uzzel to return to Europe.—

Coringa is the only Port on this Coast, which has a dry Dock, for the repair of Ships.—

Having Completed the Survey, we proceeded on to Diamond Island on the Burmese Coast for a supply of Turtle, & in two Nights we took Fifty Turtle, averaging from two to Three Hundred weight each, & with this load on our Main Deck proceeded again to the Great Andamans.—We found things here much the same as we left them. We were now busy in making Pens for our Turtle by driving heavy stakes outside low water mark, & this supply prov'd very opportune for the small Garrison on Chatham Island.—

About a week after our arrival the India Company's Brig, which took the Native, Delpo, to Calcutta return'd here.—Delpo was now splendidly Cloth'd, & I was told he was much attended to at Calcutta, was admitted into a Ball room, where all the Grace and Beauty of that fair City was Collected ; but

nothing seem'd to astonish or incur his Admiration.—Delpo was now again Landed on his Native Shore dress'd in all the Native finery of Asiatic Luxury. I admird his Turban, inlaid with tinsell'd Muslin, & rolls of Muslin round his Body.—We Landed him on that part of the Shore where the Natives were more frequently found to resort, when off he started into the Wood up a Precipice.—He was some hours absent, & at last we beheld the gaudy attird Delpo bounding with a party to the Boat, in his Native Garb, a Coating of Mud, & his Woolly Head besmeard with a red kind of Ocre.—The party that came down with him (Delpo), on entering the boat, made an effort with their teeth to draw the Nails from the Boat's Plank, & Six of them went off with Delpo in our Boat on board the Ship.—And on our arrival, as usual, they sprang forward to the Steep Casks to gorge on the Salt Pork.—Wild Pigs was the only animal we saw on those Islands, & the Polish'd Heads of Pigs the only Ornament we ever saw in their Huts, in which their Sleeping Berths was truly a note of Admiration & Wonder.—The flooring is Clay, in which the exact form of Man on his left side is neatly & exactly hollowd out, & that of the Woman, with all its variation of shape, Breasts &c., laying on the other or her right side.—We never saw more than two sleeping places in a Hut, which is a rude structure of stakes drove

in the ground & a rough form'd roof cover'd with sedge grass.—

We had been in the habit of allowing a few of our Crew at a time to go on Shore on Chatham Island, where among other sources of comfort for the Sailors a Grog shop was now establish'd. And one day, while on such recreation two of the Crew took a Canoe from the Shore & set off up the Harbour, on what they term'd a Spree. They were both of the Crew of one of the Ship's Boats who had been frequently up there.—We had intercourse with an Aged Man on a small Island, close to the Main shore, which seemd to be Inhabited by him & a young Female only.—The two Men landed here, when the two Natives retreated, & on reaching their Hut they heard the Natives blow a Conkshell, which directly brought a number of their Brethren to the Island.—The Seamen retreated, but their Active Pursuers came up with one of them, & [he] was captur'd, the other got to the Canoe & paddled off, & it becoming dark it was Morning before he reachd Chatham Island. We soon after got Information of this sad affair, & dispatch'd Boats to seek our lost Seaman.—The Island where the Seamen Landed was first explor'd, where we discover'd the Ashes of a late large Fire, & several Human Bones strew'd round, and more fully to confirm our awaken'd suspicions, we found the

head of our lost Seaman placd on a Rock close by.— We now returnd to our Ship.—This was the only Instance of Cannibalism which had come to our knowledge, but it was now assuredly an ascertaind fact.—

Our stay here was protracted to near three Months, and it was said to be occasioned by Captain Smith having misunderstood the Tenor of his Orders.—Be this right or wrong, assuredly we were reduc'd to an awful state of destitution. Our Biscuit was all gone, Spirits & Wine totally expended, Tea & Sugar not one Spoonfull left, nor in fact any sustenance remaind but that to be deriv'd from Salt meat & water, in fact there was no food on board but a small supply of Rice, supplied from the small Garrison stores on Chatham Island.—We now sent our Launch on Shore near the Ship to complete our Water, so as to Sail in the Morning. The Boat had not been long on Shore when we heard a Hallooing, & I was sent in [one] of the Cutters to their Rescue. We judg'd the Cause, & I had orders to take the Arm Chest in the Boat. As I reach'd the Launch I discover'd the Natives in the Trees, jumping about like Monkies, letting fly their well directed Arrows on the Launches Crew.—We commenc'd firing from the Boat, & was necessitated to kill several before we could dislodge them from the Trees.—One of our party of the Launch's

Crew was badly Wounded, & others more or less so, before they could shelter themselves until our arrival.—

Having completed our Water, at the expense of some Blood, we Sail'd on the following Morning, with many of our Crew ill with the Scurvy, as there was no Vegetable or Fresh Meat to be procurd at our late Anchorage.—

We proceeded as fast as tedious winds would permit us to the Straits of Malacca, & was by length of passage oblig'd to place all hands on the short allowance of two thirds of a half pint of Rice $\frac{3}{4}$ day.— Officers, except the Captain, & men equally share alike in the endurance of Privations.—We Buried Seven Men, literally for want of nourishing Food.— The Salt Meat we had on Board had been so long in Cask that much of the Bone had been dissolv'd by the Salt.—

We at last reach'd Pulo Penang, & at a time most Important for the safety of the Island, & all the Setlers there. I have mention'd before¹ that this Island was a dowry given to Mr. Light by the King of Queda with his Daughter in Marriage, but still to remain Tributary to the King.— Mr. Light being in full Possession Sold the Island to the East India Company, & of which the East India Company Establishd him in the Government.

¹ Cf. p. 29.

Consequently the Tribute ceas'd, & on which the King of Queda call'd to his Aid all the Piratical War Proa Boats¹ from Borneo, Sumatra, & the Malwans of his own Coast, which form'd a Fleet of four Hundred sail, & we found they were collected in the Malay River² opposite to Penang, & a Mud Fort was built by them for their protection.—

On the Morning before our Arrival in the afternoon the Queda Government sent a Summons to the Governor of Penang, Mr. Light, to demand Immediate Surrender, on Pain of every Inhabitant being put to the Sword.—Captain Smith was now Consulted, & an answer was return'd, 'That so very Insolent a Message would call forth the Punishment it deserv'd.'—The Roadstead of Pulo Penang was at this time the place where all the East India Company's Ships Trading to China & its Seas resorted for Water & Supplies.—We now went to work with a very good Will, In fact it was a happy occurrence to draw our minds from our late sufferings, & as we got some good Beef, & Grog on Board, & satisfied our very long sustained Hunger, the Gale past was no longer thought of.

—Two of the Water Tank Boats, belonging to the Port, were soon brought alongside our Frigate.

¹ These 'proas' were long and narrow vessels with sharp stems and sterns, able to use either oars or sails, and very fast.

² Probably the Muda river, which forms the northern boundary of the modern Province Wellesley of the Straits Settlements.

We got two of our Eighteen Pounders into each of the Tank Boats with Ammunition &c.—& with every Boat that could be got from every Ship in the Roadsted, the Shore, & all our own, We Embark'd the Company of Sepoys from the Garrison, Commanded by the Gallant Captain Glass, & what Marines we could Muster, under the Command of their Gallant Lieutenant Furzer,—

In one hour before dark this same Evening we started, the Gun Boats, one of which I Commanded, being Tow'd by a long string of Boats, for the Enemies' Port.—We had concerted with Lieutenant Furzer & Captain Glass that the first Shot from the Gun Boats would be the Signal for their Storming the Fort. The Troops were Landed in good Order, & with our Gun Boats we had to proceed up a Reach or bend in the River, where we found the Fleet of the Enemies' Proa Boats of War, in a perfect mass, & such a Forest of Masts I never did see, or surely never can see again.—Each of those Proa Boats had a long Gun or Guns, of from Six to Nine Pounders, & full of Men, all Piratical Plunderers.—Fortunately what light Wind we had was up the River, And we had calculated our Tide, so as to be at Anchorage at Young Flood.—So that it became quite impossible the Enemy could move or break their perfect throng'd Mass.—

We commenc'd our Cannonade with deadly

effect ; not a Shot of ours could miss some of this immense Fleet, and after hammering at them for full three hours, Our Officer in Command of the Flotilla deemd it unnecessary to continue our destructive Fire.—The outside or nearer Proa Boats fird a Few Guns on our taking up our station or position, but no hurt was done to our Boats or Party.—Captain Glass had Storm'd the Fort as preconcerted, & I heard that more than One Hundred of the Enemy were Bayonated, & who had declar'd no quarter to the Inhabitants of Pulo Penang should they refuse a unconditional Surrender.—

We now reimbark'd all hands, & return'd to Penang, being fully aware the King of Queda nor his Piratical Hirelings would again contemplate invading Penang, and in this feeling we were not disappointed.¹ For early on the next Morning an Embassy crossd over & offer'd Peace on our own terms, And it was directed that the Official Persons were to meet on Board the Perseverance Frigate, on the following Morning.—

These Malays at the Period I am describing had on many occasions, when our Merchant Vessels

¹ So much trouble was caused by the piratical tendencies of the inhabitants of the coast opposite Penang that in 1800 a strip of the coastland was acquired from the Sultan of Kedah, which is now part of Province Wellesley.

arrivd on their Coast to Trade, Under pretence of Trading collected in large numbers on board, when watching their opportunity would then out Cresse (a Dagger or large Poignard), Murder the Crew, & seize the Cargo.—But at present they are better taught, & such acts of Piracy on the Coasts of Birmah, Malay, & Siam are unknown.¹—

The Prime Minister of Queda kept his appointment. He arrivd on board with a large Retinue & twelve Proa War Boats.—We were all at Quarters, & every Man perfectly Armd to prevent surprise.—The Governor Light & Captain Smith went hard at it, to work Diplomacy with the Malay Party.—The work to be done was plain & of short duration, & in one hour the Sovereignty of Pulo Penang (Pulo in this Country, denotes Island) was then & there Ceded in perpetuity to the East India Company.—On the next Morning what remaind of the Mercenary Piratical Fleet of Proas, which the Fire of our Gun Boats had left them, Saild for their separate Destinations, & must surely have been fully conscious of the severe Castigation they had receiv'd.—Our Ship was again at Quarters, & ready to cast & make Sail, had any Sail of this treacherous Enemy venturd to Insult our Flag.—

¹ It was not till many years after the time at which Carden wrote his reminiscences that this statement can be said to have been justified, certainly not before 1870.

But they all passd on under their respective Chiefs, & in a few hours out of Sight.—We had every reason to suppose that we sunk and destroyd one Hundred of those Piratical Proas, and the number of their Crews must have been great. Our Ships Crew soon recruited their Health & strength, and in three weeks we left this place for Madrass, & from thence arrivd in the Year 1790 at the Port of Trincomalee, Island of Ceylon.—The Dutch held the Government of this Island at this time, but in the last War it was Captur'd by the English,¹ and is at this time belonging to the Crown of Great Britain. The Dutch did not take much pains to Cultivate the Soil, or Natives, beyond a small range of their Ports.—This Port is very secure & Extensive.—Deer were very plenty here, a fine fat Animal brought alongside the Ship for two Rupees (4s. 6d.)—

The N.E. Monsoon having set in, we proceeded to the Coast of Malabar, to Assist in the War against Tippoo Saib, which had been carried on for some time by the East India Company.²—The

¹ The reduction of Ceylon was begun in August 1795, the news of the French conquest of Holland having reached Calcutta in June. By February 1796 the Dutch settlements were all in English hands; cf. Fortescue, vol. iv, pp. 403-4.

² Operations were begun in May 1790, Tippoo having previously (1789) attacked our ally, the Rajah of Travancore; cf. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. i, chap. xii.

French were his Friends under the Bush, but not openly declar'd so.—They had two Frigates at this time on this Coast, & did throw in succours when they could, & on whom we had to keep a Vigilant Watch.—We found on our arrival at Tillicherry,¹ Coast of Malabar, that the Commodore Cornwallis had sent the Crown of 64 Guns to England, and the Minerva, a then 38 Gun Frigate was sent out as her relief, & in which we found his Broad Pendant hoisted, & with whom was also the Phoenix of 36 Guns, Captain Byron.—The two French Frigates were laying in the Port of Mahé, a few Leagues to the Southward of Tillicherry.—A Port belonging to Tippo Saib was on this Coast, some Leagues distant to the Northward of our Anchorage, & where Munitions of War were frequently Landed under the French Flag.—As we were now carrying on the War against Tippo Saib with great Vigour, & on his Territory on this Coast, we were keeping a Vigilant look out.—The Commodore now gave Orders to the Phoenix to Sail, & take the Perseverance under his Orders, to Blockade the Port of Mangalore, belonging to Tippo Saib, which kind of Service has always a tiresome sameness; but in a few Weeks the Monotony was broke by the appearance of Four Sail of Merchant Ships,² under Convoy

¹ Tellicherry, a few miles S.E. of Cannanore.

² James (i. 131) says there were only two merchantmen,

of a French Frigate, Standing direct in for the Port we were Blockading.—We clear'd Ship for Action, & the Phoenix Senior Officer made our Signal to Examine strange Ships,—We made all Sail in Chace, & soon brought the strange Ships to,—The Phoenix keeping within close Gun Shot of the French Frigate. All the strangers hoisted French Colours, and the Phoenix, observing one of them to fill her Main Top Sail, fir'd a Shot at her, when the French Frigate return'd the Compliment by firing a Shot at us, who had now all the French Ships in our Wake astern. The Phoenix directly pour'd a Broadside into the French Frigate, & the Action commenc'd in good Earnest, & while our Boats were away in Examining the Lading of the French Merchant Ships, we haul'd up & got a few Broadships at the French Frigate, Who Gallantly continued the Battle for three quarters of an hour, & then Surrendered.—Being the first National French Flag¹ struck on the Ocean.—She prov'd to be La Résolue of 36 Guns,² & with the Captain & Eighty of her Crew were killed or Wounded, &

¹ i.e. the tricolour.

² An account of this action is given in William James's *Naval History of Great Britain*, vol. i, pp. 131-2: he states that the *Résolue* only carried 12 and 6 pounders, whereas the *Phoenix* had 18 and 9 pounders. The loss of the Frenchman is given as 20 killed and 45 wounded. The action occurred in November 1791, i.e. after the operations of the Bombay troops, described in the following pages.

much cut up in her Masts & Rigging.—The Phoenix had Six killd & ten wounded, & to whom the French Frigate struck her Colours.—We had no person hit in our Ship.—Our first Lieutenant and two Midshipmen, of whom I was one, with a few Seamen, were Order'd to take charge of the Captur'd Ship, & carry her into the Port of Mahée, from whence She sail'd, & where lay the French Commodore, & in a few days we left her there at Anchor. For as it was not War then with France, She could not then be made a Prize of. This Occur'd in the Year 1791.—

The War with Tippto Saib, who was [then] the greatest Sultan of Hindostan, was carried on by Lord Cornwallis with the utmost Energy.—A large Body of Troops¹ were collected in & about Tillicherry & Billiapatnam, to make a diversion in favor of the Grand Army under Lord Cornwallis, the Governor General, & who was making rapid strides to Seringapatnam, the City of the Sultan Tippto.—Our Ship was now Anchor'd at the Mouth of the Billiapatnam River, which the Collected Body of Troops were to ascend to the Foot of the Ghauts of Hindostan. I was Order'd with two of our Ship's Boats to precede the Native Boats, in which the Army was advancing up the River, which Service for a few days was attended with serious Collision With a Caste of

¹ These troops belonged to the Bombay Army and were under General Robert Abercromby. They mustered some 7,000 in all.

Natives call'd Moplars,¹ Subjects of Tippo Saib, who Inhabited the left Bank of the River.—They met us on points of Land, on the bends of the River, & plied us with their Matchlocks, wounding two of our Men slightly.—I now decided on the experiment of landing eighteen Men well Armd (having four Marines in each Boat) on the neck of each point, & sweeping downwards to the River, & Thus caught them in a Net.—Their numbers were not great, And they soon became tenacious² of meeting the British Musquet & Bayonet.—We did not get another Man hit on this Service, & except those who fell before our Musquets, we found none on the Points of Land, as they took to the River, & we were in too great a hurry to ask or seek what had become of them.—However, this species of Warfare soon ceas'd, & after much tedious effort we reach'd the head of the Billiapatnam River.—The General Commanding this Division of the Indian Army was Sir Robert Abercromby,³ the Brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who so very Gloriously fell in the Attack & ultimate defeat of the French Army in Egypt.—

¹ i.e. the Moplahs, a fanatical sect of Mohammedans found in Malabar. They are believed to be descended from Arab settlers on the west coast of India.

² *Sic* MS.: possibly 'timorous' is meant.

³ Sir Robert Abercromby (1740–1827), Commander-in-Chief at Bombay in 1793, knighted in 1792.

It now became apparent that I had attracted the approbation of Sir Robert Abercromby, who having obtained an Order from Captain Smith that I should Land with & attend the Orders of Sir Robert, I again became what may be termed a Soldier.—The Duty assigned to me & my two Boats' Crews, was to attend to the Transport of the Field Pieces, 9 & 6 pounders, up the Ghauts of Hindostan, Awfully steep Mountains, on which angular Lines of Road were formerly form'd. For as to Marching an Army & their Luggage directly straight up it was Impracticable.—Having with me a supply of Rope & Blocks from the Native Boats that attended the Transport of the Army, I did with my Seamen enter on our work with a good Heart; knowing the work to be done, I considered I could cut it very short.—

I got Tacles Rove, & a full set of relieving Tacles, & by making the Straps of our Tacles fast to the Rocks, or frequently to the small Trees, I beris'd¹ the Guns up one at a time, met them by relieving Tacles, & by this means & additional strength of Coolies Attachd to the Army, I always was up with and often before the Army by thus cutting off the Angles the Army was oblig'd to make with all their Baggage up the Angular or Zig Zag Roads.—On one Occasion Sir Robert remark'd to me that He fear'd the Enemy might cut off the Guns If I

¹ *Sic MS.*: ? 'prised'.

continued to cut off the Angles so long before the Army got up to them.—But feeling I could at any time hurl the Guns down the Steep, & keeping a good look out ahead, I Perseverd.—

We reach'd the head of the Ghauts, which was a beautiful Table Land, reminding me of that of the Cape of Good Hope.—The Army suffer'd very little by Fatigue, & were soon Encamp'd,¹ And my Seamen Crews enjoying themselves much.—We were here more than three weeks, in anxious expectation of what was next to be done, when a sudden Order came for an Instant retreat.²—I was not in the Secrets of Sir Robert, & as the rest had only to Obey, But this I do aver, We did not see the Face of an Enemy.—The Camp was left standing, & much of the Baggage was abandon'd.—The Guns were my particular Charge, and by Orders receiv'd Hurl'd them down the Steep Ghauts of Hindostan,—and proceeded in the Rear of the Army.—

We reach'd our Boats in some Confusion, as might be expected, & being Minus a great part of the Baggage & Tents, had plenty of room to

¹ At Periapatam, some 35 miles W. of the town of Mysore.

² The reason for this was that when Lord Cornwallis arrived at Seringapatam, after defeating Tippoo at Arakeri (May 15), he found it impossible to form the siege of the city, owing to the complete lack of forage and supplies, due largely to the failure of his Mahratta allies to co-operate, as had been arranged: cf. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. ii, chap. xiii, pp. 506–8; Fortescue, vol. iii. p. 571.

Embark the Army.—The Strong run of the River downwards, like the Guns over the height of the Ghauts, soon brought us again to Billiapatnam, where all were put on shore in a confus'd heap.—No Tents, no immediate means of Hutting, & no Barracks here for the Army, & supplies of all sorts short at the moment's warning, and so unexpected our sudden return.—The Seypoys suffer'd most severely, & Died in heaps & from fatigue & Fever.—I return'd with my two Boats & Crews to the Ship, still lying at Anchor in Billiapatnam Roads, where we all soon again recruited our strength & nerve.—

It was then said, how true I know not, that by a Rouge¹ of the Enemy, Spies had enter'd our Camp on the Ghauts, gave the Information to Sir Robert Abercrombie that an overwhelming Force of the Enemy was close at hand, & that his belief in this report caus'd the sudden & disastrous retreat, but the matter was hush'd up.—The Troops were ultimately taken into Tillicherry.—The S.W. Monsoon was near setting in, the French Commodore left the Coast, & we proceeded to Bombay to refit.—This was in the end of the Year 1791.—Our Ship wanted much repair, & all felt gratified at the Comforts of all classes of People at this place.—The Harbour is good, the Docks are good, & the place Healthy.—The Native Ship

¹ i.e. ruse.

Builders here display great Ability. Many fine Ships of the Line are Built at this Port, & when sent to England generally have the Frame of another Ship stowd in their Holds, to be set up in our Dock yards.—The Teak Timber us'd here in Ship Building is superior to British Oak in durability, & in those days the finest Merchant Ships Afloat were built at this Port.—As A.D.C. to our Captain I had much advantage in entering into the best Society & Comforts of Bombay. It far exceeds Madrass in this respect, And though Calcutta is the seat of the Aristocracy of India, & is of great Splendour, I very much prefer the English like stability of every Comfort at Bombay.—

Having refitted the *Perseverance*, The Monsoon still Boisterous though more settled, we proceeded to Sea, & round Ceylon, to the Coast of Coromandel, & anchor'd in Madrass Roads.—The War with Tippoo, Sultan of Hindostan,¹ being now, by the great Skill of Lord Cornwallis & his Brave Army brought to a close, by the Surrender of Seringapatnam,² The two Elder Sons of the Sultan were brought to Madrass as Hostages for the fulfillment of the Treaties of Peace granted.—I had the Honour

¹ A very inaccurate description.

² Seringapatam did not actually surrender, but after a successful night-attack on Tippoo's entrenched camp (February 6-7, 1792) the Sultan asked for terms, and a treaty was concluded on February 23; cf. *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. iii, chap. xiii.

in attendance on my Captain to be present at a very Magnificent Ball to the Princes. Those young Hostages, the Eldest of whom appear'd about fourteen Years of Age, seem'd most delighted, And all attention was directed to them.—The great People Natives of India, would not degrade themselves by the Labour of Dancing, & they have a class of Fine Women who are attach'd to the Establishments of Native Monarchs & other great Personages, & who Dance, or as the Native term expresses it, *Notch*,¹ before their Rulers when demanded.—I was exceedingly amus'd by the Princes' Interpreter repeating their Ideas of the Ladies in the Ball Room.—They remark'd on their great Beauty & Graceful movements, & Exclaim'd that when they return'd to Seringapatnam they would request the Sultan to obtain from Lord Cornwallis the Six Ladies they pointed out, who certainly were among the finest & most Elegant Women in the Room, to *Notch* before him.—

I enjoy'd myself much in the Society of this City, particularly at St. Thomas's Mount, some Miles outside the City, & where the great body of the Aristocracy of this place have their Country Residencies. We now return'd to our Ship, which, though different in its social society, was always to me a happy resort.—

¹ i. e. nautch.

In 1792 We saild to take our last Adieu of the Straits of Malacca & the Andaman Islands.— Nothing particular Occur'd during our Passage.— We found the beautiful Island of Penang (now Prince of Wales's Island) enjoying all the Peace & comfort our last Visit had so fully insurd her.— We remaind here some weeks, & in one of our long excursions, with five in a party, Arm'd with Ship's Musquets, we happen'd to fall in with an Enormous Snake or Serpent.—We saw it on a clear spot in a Wooded part, Basking in the Sun, & all being well prepar'd, took good Aim, & Mortally Wounded this Terrific Beast.—His floundering efforts were Awful, but we were soon again Loaded, & by the effect of another Volley, render'd it Hors de Combat. As soon as we considered Life extinct, we ventur'd to examine this fearful Animal more closely, and found that eight Musquet Balls had enter'd its Body, Three of which had Cut the Spine.—It measur'd Twenty feet in length, and three feet four Inches below the Head. The smell of this Beast was very Offensive, & we left it to return to our Ship.—

We now proceeded to take a last Adieu to our Friends at the Great Andamans.—This Group of Islands are out of the Track of Commerce, & their resources, as far as we know, of little worth to Commerce, it has been decided to leave them in all their Originality of Barbarism.—Those Islands

have not been Internally Explord, but I feel assur'd they are capable of high Cultivation.—The Nicobar Islands laying Contiguous, but comparatively small, are valueable on account of their vast production of the Nests of the Sea Swallow, or Marten, which are the most esteem'd Food in China, & meet a ready Market, & I suppose are still retain'd by the Danes.—We never ventur'd to make any long excursion in Land while at the Andamans, but round the Shores with small Arm'd parties we frequently were in the habit of proceeding.—We found frequent amusement in firing at large Flocks of Doves, which light in the Trees but, like the Natives, were not at all alarm'd by the report of the Gun, & none mov'd on our Firing but those hit.—We had no small Shot, & our cut Slugs had not extensive effect.—We saw many Wild Pigs, not large, but suppos'd to have been originally escap'd from Ships Wreck'd on the Islands.—We killd one on an Island in the Mouth of this Harbour, which very much resembles that of Vigo on the Coast of Portugal; this Animal was in high keep, & high flavour'd on Table.—

Observing a Flock of Doves one Morning through my Spy Glass on a Tree feeding on the Fruit thereon, I went on Shore with my Gun, to see & taste what the Fruit was, & on my arrival near the spot I heard a strong rustling among the Dead

Wood & leaves ; I saw on the other side of the Tree the Erect head of a Snake ; It was moving rapidly on, & I stood still to observe it, & though its thickest part did not appear larger round than my Leg, yet from the time it took to pass the spot I first observ'd its head, I am assur'd it could not be less than Twenty or more feet in length.—By throwing sticks up the Tree I got a few of the Fruit, shap'd like two small Apples grown together, & not very palatable.—

In the end of 1792 all arrangements being made by the East India Company to Evacuate the Andamans, We Saild for Madrass against the S.W. Monsoon, & certainly the most Boisterous, with Thunder & rain, Consequently the most Laborious and unpleasant passage of near six weeks I ever encounter'd.—

On our arrival at Madrass, we had much to do in refitting our Ship.—We here met the Phoenix Frigate, & Atalanta Sloop of War.—It was then the custom, and I suppose still is, that on certain days liberty was given to the Seamen & Marines to visit their acquaintance & Friends in the different Ships which might be Anchor'd in the same Port.—It became my Duty to take a party on board the Phoenix, & on bringing them back in the Evening, by accident miss'd my foot on the Gangway steps on the Ship's side & fell overboard, fortunately clear of the

Boat. The Current was running strong, & I soon got astern of the Ship. I never before could Swim, but now kept above water in good style until the Boat reach'd me, & though dress'd in Uniforms, Boots, & Sword, & a handsome new Cock'd Hat, Sav'd all, & was taken up without much exhaustion.—

We Saild hence to Trincomalee, Island of Ceylon, & as soon as the Monsoon would permit, to Bombay, to make our Outfit for England.—I was fortunate, through the kindness of Captain Smith & in the Friends I had made, to meet much attention, so that the time pass'd here in much Luxury & Comfort.—

We Sailed in the early part of 1793 for England, and made no Port until we reach'd St. Helena.—We here heard of the probability of a War with France, and we were detain'd beyond our Expectation to take Convoy to England.—At length the happy order up Anchor was given, & with Seven Rich East India Ships we proceeded on our Voyage to our Native Land.—On our Approach to the British Channel we heard of the declar'd War with France, Spoke with many Cruisers, Arrivd safe, & Mercifully so, at Spithead in the Month of August.—We had Heavy Gales & a very heavy Sea before we reach'd the British Channel, & such was the very Impair'd state of our Ship, that we found it necessary to Frap her round with strong Hawsters & various other means to keep her afloat, which I will not

attempt here to describe as it would be quite unintelligible to Landsmen.—Our Crew never left the Pumps for fourteen days, That is half at a time, and so exhausted were they when we let go our Anchor at Spithead, that worn out Natural strength caus'd exertion to cease. Men were demanded per signal, & came on board to work the Pumps, until the Crew had recruited strength, & the Ship got into Harbour.—

We all went to work most heartily to get the Ship ready for Paying off, & being now near five Years without receiving one halfpenny of Wages, except two Months advance on Originally Sailing, all hands kept together, & no Desertions.—Nor was this Horrible grievance of withholding the Seamens Wages redress'd until after my strong remonstrances, by long letters in the *Times* Newspaper, during the Year .¹ Since which period Ships Crews receive one half their Pay due, on their arrival in any Foreign Port, from the Purser & Paymaster of the Ship.—But Previous to the above date they have been known to have been twelve Years without receiving any Pay, as being on Foreign Service.—

It was now War with France, & astounding as the Fact may appear, the Crew of the *Perseverance* Frigate, as soon as they got their great arrears of Pay in their Pockets, they were not allow'd to go on

¹ Blank in MS.

Shore to Visit Father, Mother, Wife, Children, or Friend, but the same day they were paid for five Years Service on a Foreign Station were drafted into other Ships, most of whom went to Sea again direct, & probably on a Foreign Station.—

During my absence in the East Indies a most Severe Contest took place for a Representative in Parliament for the County of Gloucester, between the Duke of Beaufort's Interest & that of the Earl of Berkeley. My good Uncle was at this time serving as a Captain in the South Gloucester Militia, & which Lord Berkeley Commanded.—I had always good reason to know my good Uncle had my well-fare at Heart. We had much influence in the County in the command of Votes, & I am sure he wish'd to support the Duke, as being distantly related to his Family.—But the Duke neither consulted my good Uncle, nor in any way sought his efforts.—This dereliction from the usual Courtesey between Gentlemen drove my Uncle to espouse the Berkeley cause, & at a late period of the Polling my Uncle arrivd at the Hustings with seventeen Votes in his train, & confirm'd the Election in favor of the Berkeley interest.—The result of which to me was, that the Duke abandond patronising me in the Navy. However, my good Uncle kept my Interest in View, & on my Discharge from the Perseverance in October, 1793, I was receivd as

Midshipman on Board the Marlborough of 74 Guns, Commanded by the Honourable George Cranfield Berkeley,¹ Brother of the Earl of Berkeley.—

I joind this Ship at the Nore, & was receivd by my new Captain with every kindness our very far seperated Rank would admit, and soon felt quite at Home in & among my new Messmates & Shipmates.—The Ship being ready, we Saild to join the Fleet under Lord Howe in the British Channel. The Duties & business of Blockading the Enemies' Port of Brest was, & always must be, too dull & monotonous to admit of detail.—When heavy Westerly Gales set in the Enemy could not leave their Port, and our Fleet ran in & Anchord in Torbay for shelter, and thus sav'd the Ware & tare of our Ships, always leaving Frigates off the Enemies' Port to give the earliest advice of their movements.²—For Frigates are, or were then, the Eyes of a Fleet, but in the present days Steamers must Supercede the Duties of Frigates at the time I write of.—

The French Admiral Richery³ having escaped

¹ George Cranfield Berkeley (1753–1818): Rear-Admiral 1799, Vice-Admiral 1805, Admiral 1810, G.C.B. 1814.

² It may be mentioned that this system of blockading proved most unsatisfactory and was abandoned for a more strenuous system by Lord St. Vincent, who kept his fleet off Brest in all weathers; cf. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on the French Revolution and Empire*, chap. xi.

³ There seems some inaccuracy here. Richery made his escape

from Rochefort this Year, the *Marlborough* was one of Six Sail of the Line & three Frigates sent in pursuit of them. The Enemy was of equal Force.—We soon heard of them, by speaking numbers of Vessels flying in all directions to avoid Capture. At length we got sight of them.—The Signal was made for a General Chace. The Weather was Stormy with strong Squalls, & our Chasing Ships carried too much Sail in their over Zeal to get along side the Enemy. But the Enemy Maneuver'd better, by shortening Sail in heavy Squalls, and the result was that our Squadron by over Zeal was Crippled, by loss of Top Masts, Sails, &c.—& the French Squadron Escapd.¹—

We return'd to Spithead to refit, and I had the great Happiness to meet my good Uncle Surman, who was then a Captain in the *South Gloucester* from Toulon in September 1795, and put into Rochefort in November 1796, on his return from a long commerce-destroying cruise in the North Atlantic. No squadron seems to have left Rochefort in the autumn of 1793. On May 6, 1794, a squadron under Rear-Admiral Nieilly got away from Rochefort to assist Rear-Admiral Van Stabel in escorting to France the great convoy of provision ships from America of which France stood in such urgent need; cf. James, *Naval History*, i. 66, 140; Mahan, *op. cit.*, i. 123, 202.

¹ Here again there seems some inaccuracy. The episode here related seems to be Howe's chase of Van Stabel's squadron in November 1793 (cf. James, i. 66), but the *Marlborough* was not then detached, but was in company with the rest of the Channel Fleet.

Militia, & I had the Comfort of enjoying the Society of the Officers of the Regiment who were doing Garrison duty at Portsmouth, From Lord Berkeley,¹ who Commanded the Regiment, down to the Junior Ensign.—

On completing our refit we were again off to rejoin the Fleet under Lord Howe off Brest Harbour, The tedium of which Blockade System could only be borne by the Hope of getting the Enemies' Fleet from their strong hold, & out into the Blue Ocean.—

The Fleet were order'd in turn to go into Port for refit, for this Blockading System was serious wear & tear of the Ships, & we again had our turn.—On our arrival at Spithead every exertion was us'd to get the Ship ready for further Service, 1794.—

I was again gratified to find my good Uncle Surman with his Regiment still in Garrison, & as he was about taking a Trip to Bath, & expressing a wish that I should join him, I obtained leave from Captain Berkeley to be absent three weeks, & this was the only absence I had sought from my Ship for nearly Six Years.—On our Arrival at Bath we put up at the White Hart, being the first rate Inn at Bath in those days.—The Ordinary was first rate, & most numerously & respectably attended.—I was much gratified & surpris'd to find at the head of the Table The Son of the Master attendant,

¹ Frederick Augustus, fifth Earl of Berkeley, suc. 1755, ob. 1810.

& head of the Bombay Marine, whom I well knew in India, The Father was now Dead, & his Son, who now haild me with much seeming respect, had become possess'd of his Fathers large Fortune.—I cannot say much for his Wisdom, but to me personally he was more than attentive.—

This new scene of Racketting seem'd to me delightful, each & every day was fraught with new faces & new pleasures. My good Uncle Surman was much known & very much Esteem'd, & as his then only Care, I shar'd bountifully in the Smiles & Esteem of the Multitude.—After about ten days sojourn at the White Hart, I will leave the reader to Imagine the surprise I felt, on setting down at the Table at the Ordinary, to find on my right hand Sir Charles Thompson, my late Captain in the *Edgar*,¹ who had just returnd to England, was now a Rear Admiral, & had just completed his Tour of second in Command in the West Indies.—He hailed me with much kindness, made many enquiries, & was pleased to express much pleasure on the renewal of our acquaintance, & said he hoped on some future occasion we might again become Shipmates.—

As soon as Dinner was remov'd, & the conversation became General, our President, the Master attendant's Son of the Bombay Marine, began to talk

¹ Cf. p. 17.

Politics, in which he was but little vers'd.—He remark'd how shamefully our West India concerns were attended to by the Navy there.—Sir Charles Thompson gave him a look, & told him he knew no more of the subject on which he spoke than either of the Waiters attending our Table.—I was seated about four from the head of the Table, & pass'd the word up to the said President that the person who spoke was the Admiral second in Command on that Station. He immediately drop'd his Subject, & his head, & was silent the remainder of the Evening.—

I had much converse with Sir Charles the three days he remaind, though not then contemplating our future meeting.—Yet I fully agree with the Poet, 'There is a Tide in the affairs of Man.'—My good Uncle & me returnd in due time to Portsmouth, when I join'd my Ship, & soon Sail'd again to join our Noble Chief of the Grand Fleet off Brest.—The inshore Frigates on close reconoitring obser'd the French Ships making every preparation for Sea, sails all bent &c.—All was Joy in our Fleet, but in the early part of May a heavy Gale from the Westward drove our Fleet into Torbay.¹—Every

¹ This seems inaccurate: James (i. 138 ff.) says Howe left Spithead on May 2, was off the Lizard May 4, crossed the Bay of Biscay in various directions May 5–18, reconnoitred Brest May 19 and then sailed west in search of Villaret-Joyeuse.

hour was turn'd to account in getting the Ships in perfect Order, and the first slant of Wind we proceeded down Channel, where we were met by Frigates from off Brest with the Signal Flying 'The Enemies Fleet at Sea'.—All Sail was set, & every Heart was glowing with Zeal to meet the Enemy, & every Ship clear'd for Battle.—The remarks & Jokes of our Brave Seamen in the night watch pleas'd me much, & I was fully sanguine to join in the anticipation of leading Johnny Crappo,¹ as our Seamen term'd Frenchmen, into an English Port.—Our Frigates were all eyes, sweeping the Horizon with anxious care. At last, on the Morning of the 28th of May 1794, The Signal was display'd by the repeating Frigates, 'The Enemies' Fleet in sight, a Point on the Lee Bow.'—Our very Ships seemed to participate in the Heart felt satisfaction manifested by every Creature from the Boy to the Captain, & while I at this distant period Narrate the Enthusiasm of that day (Fifty Six Years ago), my old and long revolving Blood feels a propelling influence which stimulates the much decay'd Frame of its 80th Year standing to approximate to the excited feelings of this proud day for England & every individual of our Fleet.—

The Enemy did not betray a wish to Evade Battle,

¹ i. e. Crapaud.

nor did they press their Ships with Sail. We near'd them fast, & in the Evening¹ were enabled to bring their Rear Ships to Action, in which we had certainly much the Advantage.—I now felt my Star in the Ascendant, as I had this day serv'd my time as a Midshipman in the Navy & was eligible for Promotion.—I felt that I had no Influence of the great & Powerful to further my views in the Service, & that prospects must be, & were, bas'd on my own Exertions.—The night seperated our Fleets, consequently the Cannonading ceas'd.—We all slept, if it can be so term'd, at our Guns, No Hammocks unstow'd.—All eyes were on the Alert during the Night, and at daylight the French Fleet were in good Line of Battle, as on the preceeding day. They certainly had Fore-reach'd upon us, & were of equal Force, but much larger Ships, & heavier weight of Guns.—We did not get up with the Enemies Fleet until the Evening, when Lord Howe made the Signal for Six Sail of our Fleet to attack the Enemies Rear.—This Maneuvre was promptly executed, among whom was the Gallant Captain Payne² of the *Audacious*.³—He performd

¹ The *Marlborough* was among the few vessels engaged on this day. Her Master's journal is given in *Logs of the Great Sea Fights* (Navy Records Society), i. 126–31.

² John Willett Payne (1752–1803), Rear-Admiral 1799.

³ Payne was not in command of the *Audacious*, but of the

Prodigies of Valour.—And of whom I must here relate a singular Anecdote.—It so happened that this very Gallant Officer, in his early days as a Captain, had sojourn'd for some days at an Inn on Black Heath, When the Prince of Wales & his Attendants were out Stag Hunting, & after the fatigues of the day they call'd for refreshment at this said Inn, and while partaking thereof a Naval subject was started in conversation, & on which there was diversity of opinion.—The Landlord of the House, as in Duty bound, was in strict attendance, and remarkd that there was a Naval Captain in the House who could at once solve the question in discussion. One of the Prince's party out Pencil in a hurry & wrote, ' Sir, hearing you are *Bread* to the Navy (& surely a hurried expression), I here send you the subject of discussion in our party, for your decissive opinion.'—On reading which Captain Payne gave his Opinion very conclusive on said subject, But remark'd, ' Sir, I must correct your sentiment, where you say I am *Bread* to the Navy, for the Navy happens to be Bred to me, & D—d bad bread it is.'—On reading the Gallant Captains decission on the subject in discussion the Prince was so pleas'd that he sent for Captain Payne,

Russell. The *Audacious* was commanded by William Parker, Captain of 1777, created Rear-Admiral July 7, 1794, Vice-Admiral Feb. 14, 1799, made a Baronet 1797, died 1802.

who was introduc'd to the Prince, & who gave him his hand, & was always attentive to Captain Payne during his Life in the Service.—

The Enemies' Rear was roughly & effectually handled by our Ships, & before the Ships retir'd at dark Three Sail, one a Three Deck'd Ship,¹ were disabled & beat out of the French Line. The Three deck'd Ship drifted through our Line, close under the Marlborough's Stern, Was haild, & replied She had surrendered. Her Masts were cut up, & no Topsail set, but it was not the intention neither could it be deemd judicious, to weaken our Force by sending our Men in Prizes, or reduce in any way our Strength in face of a Superior Fleet.—

We had recaptur'd & made several Prizes of Merchant ships during our Chace of the French Fleet, but Lord Howe would not weaken his Fleet by sending Crews to Man them, & thus our track on the Ocean was a Line of Ships on Fire.—We stood on with the Fleet during the night, & in the Morning² a heavy Fog precluded the possibillity of seeing or at

¹ The *Révolutionnaire*, 110 : she parted company from the French fleet during the night, but was taken in tow by the *Audacieux* 74, which, with a frigate, had been sent off to her help. These may be the two other vessels whom Carden speaks of as 'disabled and beat out of the French line'. These incidents occurred on the 28th. Carden seems to have confused that day's fighting with the more serious encounter of the 29th : cf. James, i. 145-54.

² May 30.

all discerning any object twenty yards clear of the Ship & our Frigates, the Eyes of our Fleet, were equally unable to be aware of the Enemies' movements.—A change of Wind, of which we took the advantage, though unable to observe the Enemies' movements, gave our Fleet the Weather Gage.—We distinctly heard the Enemies Signal Guns, & pass'd the 30th & 31st of May with the most trying anxiety.—At length on the Glorious First of June The Fog clear'd off with the Rising Sun, or very soon after, & we clearly beheld the French Fleet in Line of Battle under our Lee.—We were astonish'd to count the Enemies' Fleet the same in number as on the Morning of the 29th May, but by subsequent Information we found that three¹ fresh Ships of the Line had joind them during the Fog.—We were laying in Line ahead, & immediately abreast the Enemies' Fleet.—The Signal was made to prepare for Battle, & soon after the Signal for the Crews to Breakfast. All this being in due course perform'd, The long wish'd for Signal was let Fly,² 'Bear up together, & each ship engage her Opponent in the Enemies Line.'—On

¹ Really four, as in addition to Nielly with the *Sans-Pareil*, *Trajan*, and *Téméraire*, the *Trente-et-un Mai* from Cancale had also come in : the numbers remained constant, however, as the crippled *Indomptable* was sent off to port, escorted by the *Mont Blanc*.

² The Master's journal of the *Marlborough* gives this as issued at 8.36 a.m.

our closing the French Line our opponent was a large Three Deck'd Ship,¹ & our second ahead being an English Three deck'd Ship,² Lord Howe made the Signal to change places with us in the Line, the Marlborough being a small 74 Gun Ship. By this change our Opponent became L'Impetueux of 80 Guns.³ It now appear'd the change did not please many of our Crew, who said the bigger the Ship the better the mark.—Our Gallant Captain Berkeley was among the few of those who exceeded Orders & broke the Enemies' Line,⁴ & so unexpected was such Manœuvre to our Opponent that we found her without a Lee Port up, & no gun consequently run out.—Our Brave Crew did their duty well, & soon totally dismasted our Opponent. We now forg'd ahead of her.—The Royal George⁵ had also beat her Opponent out of the Line, and the vacancy in the Line ahead was considerable.—We soon discerned in the interval of a cloud of Smoke Three of the Enemies Ships⁶ to windward, at short Gun

¹ The *Terrible*, 110.

² The *Royal Sovereign*, 100. This made the *Marlborough* sixth in the line.

³ This is inaccurate : she was a 74.

⁴ For Howe's manœuvre, cf. *Signals and Fighting Instructions*, by Julian S. Corbett (vol. xxix of the Navy Records Society's publications), pp. 252–63.

⁵ Apparently a mistake for *Royal Sovereign*, as the *Royal George* was at the other end of the line, being fourth from the rear.

⁶ Including the *Mucius*, 74.

shot distance. They open'd a heavy Cannonade on us, & very soon we lost our Mizen Mast and Top-masts.—At this time a large Shot struck one of our Quarter Deck Guns,¹ where my quarters were in this & every Ship Action I have been in, and splitting in innumerable pieces kill'd & wounded twelve Men on the Quarter Deck, among whom was our Gallant Captain Berkeley, who was hit in the Forehead by a piece of Langrage, as we term the Splinters of a Shot.—I caught him in my Arms as He fell, & in a state of insensability he was quickly convey'd to the Cock Pit. However griveous the loss, his place was amply filld by our Gallant 1st Lieutenant, John Monkton.²—The Braces of our Lower Yards being cut the yards became square, we got stern way, and back'd directly under the Bowsprit of our opponent L'Impetueux, & it became bedded in our Stern, through the Poop Deck, & this was the only stick or Mast she had left.—The Cannon shot was now flying in & from every direction, as the Ships that had Sails left approach'd from the Line astern, nor was it a time to know Friends from Foes in or through the dense mass of Smoke.—I now observed a Man's Leg whirled

¹ Fired from the *Montagne 120*, Villaret-Joyeuse's flagship, which passed under the *Marlborough's* stern.

² Lieutenant Monkton was promoted to post-rank for his gallant conduct in this action : but never reached flag-rank.

past me, & fell on the Quarter Deck, & observing in the Shoe a handsome Silver Buccle, worn in those days, I recognised it as that of my Gallant Messmate, Mr. Nelson.¹ I went directly on the Poop to look for him at his Quarters there, & found him with the other Leg laying over his Body. I sent him down to the Cockpit by two Men, & now took a look at our Opponent, with her Bowsprit still ploughing down our Stern.—A detachment of the 25th Regiment,² was doing Duty as Marines on Board our Ship, & well did they perform it; they had cleared the upper Deck of the Enemy, as I could only observe the Captain, who appear'd Wounded, and leaning on his Sword, the point stuck in the Deck, & two other Men.—I express'd a wish to obtain the Captain's Sword, when two Brave Seamen offer'd to join me in the effort.—We started on the Enemies' Bowsprit, & were making our way to the Quarter Deck when a Violent Halloo was made for us to return, as the Enemies' Bowsprit was about being Shot away by the two Stern Guns on each of our Decks. We had scarcely reach'd our Ship, when off went the Guns

¹ MS. Nelham.

² Now the King's Own Scottish Borderers. The regiment has not had the good fortune to have the battle-honour 'June 1st' awarded to it, as it was to the 2nd (Queen's) and 29th (Worcesters), as it was only represented by detachments, its head-quarters being in the Mediterranean.

& consequently the Enemies' Bowsprit.—An interesting occurrence now took place. Our Main & Mizen Mast were Shot away, almost close by the Board, Shot in all directions were flying into us, The Hen Coops on the Poop were Shatter'd to pieces, when to our Surprise & admiration out fled a Noble Cock.—He made a Dash at the Stump of the Main Mast, look'd round in admiration of the Noise & fun going on, Clapp'd his Proud Wings, & Crow'd lustily three or four times,—To which our Crew on the upper Deck responded with three hearty cheers. The Cock fled on the Quarter Deck with perfect composure, & was caught by one of the Crew, & passed down to the Hold, Hereafter to repeat the Glories of this Day.¹ Now seperated from L'Impetueux, we observd through a cloud of Smoke an apparent fresh Ship of the Line bearing down upon us, with her Fore Rigging, Fore Yard, & Forecastle full of Men ready to Board us. Our Guns were as well attended as our diminish'd numbers would admit, The Boarders were all at their Posts, it was at this moment that our Gallant junior Lieutenant, Seymour² (afterwards Sir Michael Seymour Bart : as a reward for many subsequent Gallant Battles fought as a Commander & Captain),

¹ This incident is also narrated in Barrow's *Life of Howe*.

² Michael Seymour (1768–1834), Lieutenant 1790, Commander 1795, Captain 1800, Rear-Admiral 1832, a Baronet 1809.

had his Arm shot off, while leading the Boarders from the Lower Deck upwards.—Our Guns were double shotted, & at Point blank range let fly into the Enemy with such effect that she became totally dismasted, & the Sea appear'd alive with her Boarders intended for our Capture, who fell overboard with her Masts.—Had we the wish, we had not the means to save any of them, but allow'd one Man to scramble on board by a Rope thrown to him. The Enemies' Masts still hanging round her in the Water, deaden'd her way, yet she struck us hard a Midships, & passing slowly along our Starboard side, rubb'd the Quarter Gallery clean off.—We found by the Prisoner she was the *Scivola* of 80 Guns.¹—

Captain Berkeley had his Wounds now dress'd, & in some measure now rallied from the Stunning Wound he had, & hearing of my Boarding L'Impetueux, directed his Clerk to write out an Order, directed to me, to act as Lieutenant of the Marlborough.—We had now suppos'd our share of the Battle had ceas'd, as we lay a perfect Log on the Water, with only part of our lower Masts standing, but such

¹ There was no such vessel in Villaret-Joyeuse's fleet. Possibly the *Scipion*, an 80, may be meant, but the incident is not recorded in James, and the *Scipion*, which was at the other end of the line, was chiefly in action against the *Glory* (cf. James, ii. 186). She was, however, one of the ships disabled in the fight which might easily have been made a prize (cf. Mahan, i. 146).

was not to be the case.—The sternmost Ships of the Line closing up, we descried a large three Deck'd Enemies' Ship¹ bearing down under our Stern, & on passing gave into us a most Awful Broadside; we had only four stern Guns we could return.—The Enemy now Wore, & was preparing to repeat the dose of Death & destruction, When to our happy view appeard the Royal George bearing the Flag of Sir Alexander Hood² (subsequently Lord Bridport); the two Ships commenc'd close Action running to Leeward; we saw the Royal George lose her Fore Top Mast. (The Enemy generally Fire at the Masts, The English at the Hull, & thus it is they generally lose double our numbers in kill'd & Wounded.) By this timely assistance we were surely Savd from a Watery Grave, as had we not had this relief we must have been Sunk or Capturd.—All our Masts were now cut off about Six feet above the Deck, with immense Slaughter among our Crew of Kill'd & Wounded.³—The

¹ This may perhaps have been the *Républicain*, which was engaged with the *Royal George*. James describes the *Montagne* as treating the *Marlborough* in the way here described, but that must have occurred at an earlier stage in the fight, as it was by a shot from her that Captain Berkeley was wounded (i. 174).

² Alexander Hood (1727–1814), created Baron Bridport 1794, Viscount 1801.

³ The *Marlborough* had 1 officer and 28 men killed, 8 officers and 82 men wounded (James, i. 175); 119 casualties in all. Her

Battle had now ceas'd in our part of the Line, & the Smoke clearing off, we found ourselves one of Seven Sail of the Line totally dismasted, The Defence & ourselves the only English Ships.—The Enemy Fird a few Shot at us, but which we return'd with double Postage, & as they did not like to pay it, we were left at rest to attend to the Wounded & clear the Decks of Carnage.—Among the last Guns that were fir'd from the Quarter Deck, I was pointing one of them, when the Man priming, shaking the Powder on the touchole, some loose fire there ignited the Horn, which then containd one & half pound of Powder.—The Man lost his hand, & I was very severely burn'd in Face & Neck, but of which I took very little Notice at the time,—The Aquilon Frigate,¹ the Honble. Captain Stopford,² now arriv'd, sent a Hawser on board, & took us in Tow to join our Fleet, as did another Frigate the Defence.—The Honble. Captain Pakenham,³ who Commanded the Invincible, being Master's log gives the losses as 27 killed and 103 wounded (*N. R. S.*, xvi. 131).

¹ Of 32 guns. According to the Master's journal this was done about 5 p.m.

² Robert Stopford (1768–1847), Rear-Admiral 1808, Admiral 1825, G.C.B. 1831, G.C.M.G. 1837; third son of the second Earl of Courtown; cf. p. 22.

³ The Hon. Thomas Pakenham (1757–1836), Rear-Admiral 1799, Vice-Admiral 1804, Admiral 1810: he was third son of the first Earl of Longford.

now near us, lower'd a Boat & came on board to see Captain Berkeley, who in reply, on hailing us was inform'd of Captain Berkeley being badly Wounded. Captain Pakenham was on the Poop Deck, when the Defence, Captain Gambier,¹ was under our Stern. He haild that Ship to enquire after her Captain if hit in the Battle. Captain Gambier, who was always a very Serious minded Man,² said, I thank God I am not in the slightest degree Wounded, but my Ship is very much Cut up, & numbers killd & wounded. Captain Pakenham replied, 'Gambier, you could not expect any other result, For you know, whom the Lord loveth He Chasteneth.'—There was at this time another Irishman & Captain in the Navy, Sir Edmund Nagle,³ who was distinguished for his always Brave Conduct, & some Anecdote of whom will be found at Appendix No. 18.—Captain Pakenham, who was every Inch & drop of Blood most truly

¹ James Gambier (1756–1833), Rear-Admiral and Vice-Admiral 1799, Admiral 1805, Admiral of the Fleet 1830: created Baron Gambier 1807.

² Gambier was a very strong Evangelical, well known throughout the Navy for his views, which he advocated with a somewhat intemperate zeal, hardly conducive to popularity or calculated to increase his hold over those under his command. His quarrel with Lord Cochrane over the destruction of the French ships in the Basque Road (April 1809) is well known.

³ Edmund Nagle (1757–1830), Vice-Admiral 1810, Admiral 1819, knighted 1794, K.C.B. 1815.

Irish, Commanded H.M. Ship *Invincible*, but was better known as the *City of Dublin*. He would not keep an Englishman in his Ship, & well did they do their Duty on this Glorious day.—

The French Fleet were now making off with their defeated Flag, leaving Six Sail¹ of their dismasted Ships of the Line in our possession, & one² Sunk by the Fire of the *Brunswick* of 74 Guns, whose Captain Harvey,³ after his Noble Acts of Valour, fell in the last moments of Victory.—

It being Impossible to detail the Minutia of this great Battle by any Officer in the Fleet doing his duty at his Quarters, I leave the grand total of it to be Describ'd by the Historian.—This I will say, The French Fleet were not further anoy'd in their Departure, & our Fleet, taking our Crippled Ships in Tow, shap'd our course homewards, to convey the Ocular proofs of our Exertions to our Anxious Countrymen; but mind you, good reader, L'Impetueux arriv'd safely at Portsmouth.—

I had now left the Midshipman's Birth for ever, & with this step in ascendant Conclude the second Chapter of my Memoir.—

¹ The *Sans-Pareil* 80, *Juste* 80, *Amérique* 74, *Impétueux* 74, *Achille* 74, *Northumberland* 74.

² The famous *Vengeur* 74; cf. Mahan, op. cit., i. 140-4, James, i. 178-82.

³ John Harvey (1740-94). His monument is in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

I HAD now join'd the Wardroom Mess of Commission'd Officers, but where at present there was little to be had. I found the number of my late Messmates in the Cockpit sadly thin'd, as besides those kill'd, five of them were laying desperately Wounded in their Hammocks.—We again lay at Quarters all night, no Hammocks down but those of the Wounded, & in the Morning communicated with the Commander in Chief, Lord Howe, when he was pleas'd to send me his Commission dated 2nd June 1794, Confirming the one given me the preceding day during the Battle by the Honble. Captain Berkeley.—

We proceeded on slowly with our Fleet & Prizes, until our arrival in the British Channel (this Action was fought in the Bay of Biscay¹), when the Fleet seperated for different Ports.—Our Ship went into Plymouth, & was soon Tow'd into that Harbour by two long Strings of Boats from all the Ships there & the Dock Yard.—The World of England seem'd to be collected on every Point on our way in, and the Air rent with Cheers, which I &

¹ The fleets when they first came into contact were in lat. 47°.34', and long. 13°.39', i.e. about south-west of Ushant.



Admiral C. G. Robinson
Who served as a midshipman under Admiral Carden

I believe all on board felt repaid all our Toils & Dangers.—

I now seriously felt the effect of my Scorch'd Face, and the day after our arrival the Inflammation became so high as to cause complete blindness. In this state I remain'd for a fortnight, when I began to mend.—I felt the greatest anxiety, as I had yet my Examination in Seamanship, Navigation, & Astronomy to get through before I could obtain the Confirmation of my Rank as Lieutenant from the Admiralty.—The passing day at this time was held by three old Experienc'd Captains, at Somerset House, & only once in a Month.—I left Plymouth on the 20th July 1794, for London by Coach, & was fortunate enough to Travel with a Lady & her Maid, who at every stage procur'd warm Milk & Water, & bath'd my face & Eyes. I never saw or heard of said Lady before or since, but assuredly Her attentions had tended much to relieve my Sufferings.—It was then two days Journey to London, & on the 23rd I pass'd my Examination with complimentary encomium, and the day after I receiv'd my Admiralty Commission as Lieutenant of the Marlborough.—I left London that night & joind my Ship without delay.—We had much to do with the Dock Yard, with shifting Plank on our Ships side, torn by the Enemies' Shot, & to be Dock'd to get at the Shot holes under

water, as also to fit a new Gang¹ of Rigging.—So that it will appear that to Defeat an Enemies Fleet costs the English Nation a large Sum.—Our Captain's serious Wounds would not allow of his Immediate recourse to the Command of the Marlborough, & we had an acting Captain.—I frequently call'd at the Government House to pay my respects, & to enquire for Captain Berkeley, who had Married the Daughter of Lord George Lenox,² now Lieutenant Governor of Plymouth.—The Surgeon one day shew'd me the Exfoliated piece of the Captain's Skull, which was the exact size of the piece of Langrage by which he was Wounded, both of which he had preserv'd. However, ultimately, I am happy to say, our Gallant Captain Berkeley recover'd, For a better Officer, or a more kind hearted good Man was not to be found in His Majestys Service.—On my calling one day to pay my respects at the Government House, I was call'd out to the Garden by Lady Louisa Lennox, who said, See here M^r Carden is the Marlborough's *Cock*, He has three rows of Peas to walk in, & three Hens, & enjoys all the comforts his Gallant Conduct, & that of every individual of the Marlborough's Crew, so justly deserves.

¹ i.e. 'set'.

² Lord George Lennox (1737–1805), son of the third Duke of Richmond, promoted Major-General 1772, General 1793.

I admit I beheld this Gallant Bird with feeling admiration.—As soon as completed in repairs we joind the Grand Fleet in Torbay, & saild to Blockade the Enemies' Fleet in Brest & L'Orient, where many of their defeated Fleet sought refuge, & our Fleet were divided in numbers according to circumstances, but the Monotany of such Service would ill requite the Reader for loss of time in perusal.—The Enemy had a sickening Dose & heavvy blow, & yet they endeavourd to make the French Nation believe they were Victorious. And in one sense it must be admitted they were so, and obtaind the object for which their Fleet left, the security of their Ports.—It was at this time quite a Famine in France, & her Coasts being Blockaded no supplies could be obtaind by Sea. But they had sent Two Sail of the Line & Frigates¹ to America, & who had collected & Freightd a large Fleet of Merchant Vessels, laden with Bread Stuffs, And who were expected to arrive at the Time the French Fleet Sail'd from Brest. And the great Battle having taken place, both Fleets returnd to their respective Ports, by being very generally disabled, and the said Convoy of Supplies from America got safe into France. Thus their object was attaind, Although they Sustaind a great Naval Defeat.—But mind you, reader, all Historians are & will be silent on this

¹ Under Rear-Admiral Van-Stabel; cf. Mahan, i. 123.

Subject. Though surely it was a bad look out among the Men at the Helm of our Nation.—In this year 1795, our Gallant Captain Berkeley being quite recovered from his desperate Wound, he was appointed Captain of the Formidable of 98 Guns, on three Decks, & the whole of our Officers & Crew were turnd over into her.—Our Captain had long been & still was Deputy Surveyor General of the Ordnance, & M.P. for Gloucestershire.—The whole Berkeley Family was high in estimation, & our good & Noble Captain much look'd up to.

During the Fit out of our three Deck'd Ship, I got leave of absence to Visit my good Uncle, whose Regiment, the South Gloucester Militia, was orderd by George the Third, of Glorious Memory, to attend on him at Weymouth. It was a favorite Regiment with Royalty, & now encamp'd outside Weymouth, and with whom in Camp I spent a truly happy Month, and had the Honor of Introduction to their Majesties, & to their large gatherings, or *Sorées*.¹ And the Earl & Countess of Berkeley made me aware of their very many kindnesses & attentions.—On my leave of absence being Expir'd I returnd to the Formidable. We were in no great hurry to get ready, as no Fleet of the Enemy were likely to appear on the Ocean.—Parliamentary duties calld Captain Berkeley from

¹ i. e. *Soirées*.

the Ship, & Captain George Murray¹ was temporally appointed, with whom we Sail'd in 1796 on Channel Service, with and to join the Fleet Cruising off & Blockading L'Orient.—No Enemy appear'd, & nothing worth my narrating occur'd, even to the eventful period of 1797, when we again Saild from St. Helen's with a Squadron of Six Sail² of the Line & Frigates, under Rear Admiral Curtis,³ his Flag at the Mizen in the Formidable, & who was Captain of the Fleet with Lord Howe, & in the Queen Charlotte on the Glorious 1st of June Battle.—No Incidents worth my remarking occur'd on this our Channel Cruise, until heavy Westerly Gales drove us into Torbay. We got all necessary Supplies from the Victualling departments at Plymouth by Tenders, & were all again ready for Sea, when on Piping all hands up Anchor, the Seamen, to a Man, refusd to obey, & stated their determination to proceed direct to Spithead, to join the Grand Fleet, who had Mutinied to obtain the redress of their grievances.—The other Ships of the Squadron were in the same state. And Sir Roger Curtis, who had no means or power to stop the Unanimous determination of our Crews, Up Anchor & proceeded

¹ George Murray (1759–1819), Vice-Admiral 1809, K.C.B. 1815.

² James (ii. 25) says the squadron consisted of nine sail of the line.

³ Roger Curtis (1746–1816), Rear-Admiral 1794, Admiral 1803, knighted 1782, a Baronet 1794, G.C.B. 1815.

to Spithead. We there found¹ all the Grand Fleet in a state of Mutiny, & the Command of every ship taken from the Captain & Officers.—The Flag in our Ship was struck, & Captain Berkeley again came on board, but all reconciliation for the present was quite out of Possibillity, & the Captain returnd on Shore.—Delegates from every Ship came on board the Formidable, for it so happen'd that a Man, & a fine Seaman, nam'd John Joice, who was Captain of the Forecastle at this time in our Ship, was nam'd & appointed head Delegate by the Fleet, to represent & obtain from the Admiralty the redress of the Grievances complaind of.—This Chief Delegate, John Joice, was a young Man who belong'd to the Perseverance Frigate, & to the Fore Top, & of which I was the Officer, until said Ship was paid off at Portsmouth, and returnd with us to England as Captain of the Fore Top. He was much attatchd to me, as I am proud to say were the whole Ship's Company, & when many of the Formidable's Officers, & great numbers from the Fleet, who were deem'd obnoxious to the Crews were by the Delegates order'd into the Boats, and Drum'd on Shore with fife & Drum playing the Rogue's March, & left on the Beach, Yet fearful that

¹ According to James (ii. 31) Curtis's squadron returned to Spithead on May 15, just as the mutineers had been induced by Howe to return to their duty.

I should quit in disgust, Two Seamen were order'd to keep watch over me, & not to suffer my escape.— I now felt myself most disagreeably situated, as Joice would come each Morning to speak of the occurrences of the day past.—I was astonish'd one Morning to hear that one of our Crew was about to be Hung, & that it was a Punishment for the suppos'd Culprit's abusive & highly disrespectful conduct to me.—On coming on Deck I found the report true enough.—The intended Victim was on the Forecastle, the Yard Rope from the Fore Yard rove round his neck, The Yard Rope Man'd, and all in readiness to run him up, waiting only the Boatswain's Mate's Pipe. I directly dash'd forward to the Man, whom I well knew, Tore the Yard rope off his Neck, pronounc'd in a loud Voice that the accusation against this Man was false, & as only a precursor of worse Violence, & told the Crew that, if Murder was the only way of Glutting their Madness, to run me up to the Yard arm if they dare.—That I regretted they had so bad an opinion of me, as to suppose I would allow any Man in the Ship, in which I held a Commission, to use the language to me they had ascrib'd to this Man while I had an Arm left, or a Sword to draw.—The Crew gave me a direct Cheer, the unjustly accus'd Man releas'd, & all matter cool'd down to the usual routine of Visits by the Delegates.—

A still determination to hold their position until their Grievances were redress'd prevaild throughout the Fleet.—My old & now again Shipmate Joice, after lamenting to me being forc'd into his Situation, and Expressing strong Hope that all would be granted the Seamen, & that an amnesty would consequently follow.—In a few days, so it turnd out, the Admiralty granted the Seamen's request, and a thorough amnesty to all parties.—When immediately all the Fleet was in its original Order, Dicipline, & Subjection, & all Officers joind, as soon as they could rejoin their respective Ships.—

It is not likely the Reader can be aware of the origin & cause of this Mutiny, or deriliction of duty among our Seamen of the Grand Fleet, and I here explain it.—And Reader, judge with that reason God has given you on this most Important Subject. It is laid before you by one who was thoroughly conversant on & in the whole matter of Origin and result.—It had been the Custom for years, long before I had any knowledge of Naval matters, That the Purser of the Ship, who had charge of all sorts of Provisions & Spirits, Wine, or Beer throughout the Navy, was not paid in full by the Navy Board or the Victualling department, but to make their emoluments equal to their situation in leakage & waste, one eighth of the Provisions which was originally allowd each Man by the Country was

deducted, & the Government Price of such eighth was allow'd the Purser to compensate him for the duty he perform'd in keeping the accounts thereof.—I assert from Experience that by such reduction the Provisions thus curtail'd were not enough to satisfy the Hunger of hard working Men, night & day alike.—It was in a Most respectful Memorial, through Lord Howe, the Seamen of the Fleet Solicited the Admiralty to grant them their full allowance of Provisions, at the same time expressing their Loyalty to their Sovereign & devotedness to their Country.—To this Memorial through Lord Howe no reply was granted, & not until all efforts in repeated and most respectful representations were prov'd to be of no avail did any Seaman display a thought of dereliction from duty, or a most distant system of Mutiny.—Now my good reader, consider well this subject, & judge who was the cause of this Peril & alarm the Country was plac'd in by the Mutiny of the Fleets of the Nation, who in two hours after Justice to their claims were granted were become truly Obedient, thankful to the Admiralty, & more eager if possible to assert the Honour of their Country and to maintain its Naval Supremacy.—

My old Shipmate John Joice, who was head Delegate of the Fleet, was offer'd to be made a War-rant Officer, but he declind this mark of attention, alledging that he always would be a marked Man

in the Service by all parties. He Solicited his Discharge & exemption from being Impress'd on any future occasion. This was granted him, & a final stop was put to this untoward affair in the Grand Fleet.—The strict & effectual effort of Buonaparte to prevent any communication with England surely prevented our many Enemies from being aware of this unhappy suspension of Duty in our Grand Fleet. But our Fleet off the Texel, Blockading the Dutch Fleet, caught the Mutinous Spirit, & was soon reduc'd by Desertion to the Nore, where their head Quarters was establish'd, from fifteen Sail of the Line to two, Viz. The Venerable bearing the Flag of Admiral Duncan,¹ and the Adamant, bearing that of Vice Admiral Onslow.² On these two Ships being left alone, Admiral Duncan hit upon a good plan of deception, in face of the Enemies' Fleet in the Texel. He sent the Adamant in the offing, who made frequent Signals, which were answer'd by the Venerable. This caus'd the Dutch to suppose that a single Ship being off their Port was a mere Stratagem to get them out, & in this deceptive feeling the Dutch remaind in Port, until a sufficient Force arrivd to bid defiance to

¹ Adam Duncan (1731–1804), Rear-Admiral 1787, Vice-Admiral 1793, Admiral 1795, created Viscount Duncan 1797: the victor of Camperdown.

² Richard Onslow (1741–1817), Rear-Admiral 1793, Vice-Admiral 1794, Admiral 1799, a Baronet 1797.

the Force of the Enemy, & among whom was my Ship, the Formidable.—The Fleet now in Mutiny at the Nore, I feel assur'd, knew not what Specific Grievance to complain of, & was by gradual Desertion of their party brought to a state of Subjection.—The Buoys of the intricate Navigation of the Thames were all taken up by the Trinity Board, & no means of Escape or Supplies, And Sheerness Garrison full of Troops, & Cannon Mounted in all directions. By those prompt means, & no real cause of complaint, the whole Fleet of Thirteen Sail of the Line & Frigates surrendered at discretion.—This Mutiny was headed by a Man nam'd Parker, who had been a Midshipman, but was dismiss'd the Quarter Deck.—The other Leaders with Parker were tried by Court Martial, & by their just Sentence condemn'd to Death, and Hung at the Yard Arm in Sheerness Harbour.—The Formidable now again return'd to Spithead, and Sir Roger Curtis rehoisted his Flag in this Ship, for the purpose of Convoying the Trade to different parts of the World, so long detain'd by the Mutiny of our Fleets.—We had a Squadron of the Line & Frigates at St. Helens, collecting the Merchant Ships around us, among whom was a Fleet of East Indiamen.—One Morning it being my Watch, I heard a great row on board one of them (The Royal Admiral) very near us at Anchor. I order'd a Boat

to be Man'd & Arm'd, & went down to Acquaint the Captain, who order'd me to proceed on board her direct.—I soon reach'd her Deck, & found her in a high state of Mutiny. I rush'd with a dozen Men arm'd to the Cabin, where the Mutinous part of the Crew outside its Door were assembled.—The Captain was just coming out, & a Seaman having a large knife was rushing forward, as he exclaim'd, to have blood for blood. At this moment I prick'd him with my Sword under the right Arm, he turn'd short round, when I plac'd my Sword in his Breast.—My Crew seiz'd him, bound him hand & foot, & plac'd him in the bottom of our Boat, & thus this wrong headed kickup or Mutiny was totally subdued, and the said Crew were all pleas'd to be permitted to return to their Duty, with oblivion of the Offence.—My astonishment was great to behold the Captain of the Royal Admiral, Dorset Fellows, to be an old & very particular acquaintance of mine, when he was Mate of an Indiaman & I a Midshipman of the Perseverance in India, and from whom I had receiv'd many kind attentions.—Being detain'd by adverse winds & waiting for the Merchant Ships to take Convoy, our Wardroom Officers gave a Grand Ball to the India Fleet, which was Grac'd by a Host of Ladies, bound out to see their Friends or perchance to find a particular Male Friend,—Sir Roger Curtis opened

the Ball with a Miss Lushington, & the whole affair pass'd off with much enjoyment, & at an early hour in the Morning all were again on board their respective Ships.—In two days after we Proceeded to Sea, with perhaps the largest Convoy that ever left our Shores in one Body.—When all were Collected outside the Isle of Wight the Ocean seemed Covered, but the most perfect order prevailed, and when we arrivd at a certain Latitude & Longitude in the Atlantic the Signal was made to part Company.—The different Ships of War took their particular Ships under Convoy, & in a few hours we had a clear Horizon again, with our own small Squadron only.—We returned to Spithead, when the Admiral struck his Flag in the Formidable.—

1798. Captain Berkeley now resign'd in Toto the Command of the Formidable.—The Officers went all different ways, to make room for new comers, & I was appointed Lieutenant of the *Barfleur* of 90 Guns on three Decks, Commanded by Captain Dacres,¹ the Father of the present Vice Admiral Dacres. This Ship was then in Portsmouth Harbour, fitting for Sea.—Shortly after joining this Ship, Sir Charles Thompson, who was my Captain on entering the Naval Service, arrivd at Spithead with his Vice Admiral's Flag in the *Queen Charlotte*

¹ James Richard Dacres (1749–1810), Rear-Admiral 1799, Vice-Admiral 1805.

of 110 Guns.—I immediately paid my respects to him, he receivd me with much kindness & attention, & he was pleas'd to ask me to join his Ship as Lieutenant. I was rejoicd to accept the offer, & in a few days receivd my Commission as Lieutenant of the Queen Charlotte.—

The Rebellion in Ireland was now at its height, & with two other Ships of the Line Embark'd two Regiments of Guards,¹ & preceeded with a fair wind to Waterford, to join the Army there concentrated, in order to destroy the Rebels in their strong hold on Vinegar Hill, above Enniscorthy.—We soon reached our destination, & landed our Troops in good order.—I here heard of the Massacre of my good Uncle, Captain Jonathan Carden, with whom I went out to & returnd from America after the Battle of Charleston.² The desperate wounds he had receivd there had render'd him incapable of further Service, & he had retired to Enniscorthy, where he Married a Quakeress Lady of good Fortune named Thompson. The Rebels had the Sole control of Eniscorthy, but Captain Carden did not take, nor was he Physically able to take, any part in Politicks, & thus felt a security from personal Violence.—With this mistaken feeling he was one day walking through that Town, with his Wife & only Daughter

¹ The 3rd Grenadiers, 1st Coldstreams, 1st (Scots) Third Guards all embarked at Portsmouth for Ireland early in June, being landed at Waterford on June 18th.

² i.e. Guildford, cf. p. 11.

on each Arm, when a Ruffian Rebel came up behind him & discharged a Pistol through his Heart. The Females were enabled to Escape, but so Barbarous were the Rebels, that they publickly interdicted the removal of the Body of this Gallant Officer, & the Pigs literally Mangled it in the Streets.—This sad tale reach'd our Ship on arrival, which created much disgust.—A detachment of Seamen from each of the Squadron was ordered to Land direct, & as was previously arranged, to consist of Small Arm Men, who are thus termed from their being trained to the Musquet as well as the Ship's Cannon.—I was Ordered to Command the two Hundred Men from our Ship, the whole being Commanded by a Captain of the Squadron.—We followed the Troops with all possible dispatch from Waterford.—Among the Men I commanded were many Irish, with whom from my well known Name in that Country I was always a favourite, & I am proud to believe with the Ship's Crew in general.—On forming our body of Men on Landing, my party vociferated their determination to me of revenging the Cruel Death of my Uncle, Captain Jonathan Carden.—This Seamen Battalion were not up in time to join the Troops in the actual act of Storming the Rebel Camp on Vinegar Hill, yet we got up so as to cut off the Rebel hords as they fled in retreat, & surely well did my Brave

party fulfil their promise of revenge, for I found it impossible by any entreaty to make a Prisoner, nor was a Man of the flying Rebels we fell in with left to explain their well deserved Fate, & I am sure of my two Hundred Men every Man killd his Bird, & no mistake.—Having thus destroyed the Rebel strong hold, & made a proper example of unfaithful subjects, we returned to our Ships, & on return of communication with the Lord Lieutenant, returned with our Squadron to Cawsand Bay, leaving the Troops in Ireland.—Sir Charles Thompson now became second in Command of the Grand or Channel Fleet, & more clearly to point than the Poet can that ‘There is a Tide in the affairs of Man’, I shall here Narrate a conversation that passed at our Mess Table in the Queen Charlotte one night, during our refit in Cawsand Bay (Plymouth) for Channel Service.—The French Fleet, it was again reported, were ready for Sea, & again determined to try their Luck, or Pluck, in Combat with the English Fleet.—The happy Idea of a Fight was again the topic at our Mess Table, & as our Ship was second in Command, the Lieutenants, nine in number, commenced calculating who would be first, second, third, & so on for Promotion in case of Battle.—I was silent, but on conclusion of their arrangement of this matter, I Exclaimed, Gentlemen, you have forgot me in your calculation of chances.—

The Exclamation was now general, 'We have followed Sir Charles longer than you, & are certainly entitled to his first Consideration.'—My reply was, 'I sailed with Sir Charles long before any of you, I went from him by his Patronage & guidance, & have returned to him at his desire, Consequently I feel I am first entitled to reap the benefit of any chances that may occur,'—& thus the matter ended for the night.—But my mind was deeply affected by the remarks of my Messmates, & in the Morning, when the Admiral came on board, I sent into his Cabin my Compliments & requested the Honor of an Audience, which was granted, when I then & there put the plain question to Sir Charles, 'If any Promotion takes place under your Flag, how am I to consider I stand in your favorable Consideration for such.'—The Answer was as explicit as my question, 'Certainly as Junior Lieutenant.' I immediately replied that however proud & honoured I felt by serving under his Flag, I could not do myself the Injustice to remain the Junior of nine Lieutenants in any Ship during a hot War, While any other situation afloat would offer me brighter prospects of furtherance in the Service, & as such, I hoped he would apply for my removal from his Ship.—Sir Charles approved of my feeling, & said 'what are your prospects, or what appointment would most meet your wishes.' I replied that I

felt myself entitled to become first Lieutenant of a Frigate, Sir Charles approved of my remark, & said, 'Be quiet, & I will do what I can for you.'—The second day after this interview I was walking with our Clergyman in the Dockyard, & in our stroll came to that Jetty where the Fishguard¹ of 38 Guns was fitting out, having been Commissioned only a Week.—We went on board & found no first Lieutenant had yet been appointed, when the Clergyman (who was a great favourite with Sir Charles Thompson) remarked that he knew Sir Charles had written on the Evening of my Interview to obtain for me the Situation I had Solicited, but said, I shall tell him of the vacancy in the Fishguard, & think he will prefer this Ship, & write for your being appointed by this Nights Post.—I was very much gratified at the prospect, & having leave on Shore that night, returned to my Ship in Cawsand Bay in the Morning.—I found Sir Charles had made this second Application, & was so far contented.—Two days after this I received an Order from the Admiralty to proceed to their Office, & take up my Commission as first Lieutenant of the Juno of 32 Guns, Captain Dundas, then Stationed in the North Sea.—I took the letter to Sir Charles, who said, do not be in too great a hurry,

¹ Also called *Fisgard*, a frigate of about 1,200 tons, formerly the French *Résistance*, captured off Brest in March 1797.

until I get an Answer to my application for your appointment to the Fishguard.—I was now anxious for each Post, & on the third day after I represented to Sir Charles that I felt the Board of Admiralty might be displeased with me for not promptly obeying their Order, & requested permission to proceed by that night's Mail to London.—I got his instant assent, set off, & got to London in due course, but not as quick as steam in those days.—On my arrival at the Admiralty I found my Commission for the Juno had been Cancelled, and that for the Fishguard had been sent to Plymouth by the last night's Post.—With gratified feelings I now returned to Plymouth by return of the same Coach I reached London, joined my new Ship, & read my Commission to the Officers & Crew.—I found Captain Byam Martin¹ who Commanded the Fishguard was on leave of absence, having just now Married the Daughter of Commissioner Fanshawe² of Plymouth Dock Yard, & I did not see him until the Ship was completely fitted, ready to leave the Harbour & proceed to Sea.—We were Six weeks in fitting after I joined the Ship, & as soon as we

¹ Thomas Byam Martin (1773–1854), Rear-Admiral 1811, Vice-Admiral 1819, Admiral 1830, Admiral of the Fleet 1849, K.C.B. 1815, G.C.B. 1830. Three volumes of his *Letters* have been published by the Navy Records Society in 1898, 1900, and 1902.

² Robert Fanshawe, many years Commissioner of Plymouth Dockyard.

were ready to proceed to Plymouth Sound Captain Martin made his first Appearance on board since my joining.—Captain Martin brought with him a draft of fine Seamen from the Santa Margarita of 32 Guns, which he left to Command the Fishguard, & in which former Ship he had Capturd the Thames of equal Force,¹ which had previously been Captured from the English, by a French Squadron.²—Having been paid two Months advance wages to our Crew in Plymouth Sound, we proceeded to Sea in as good Order as a new Commissiond Ship & new collected Crew could be expected.—

We saild on or about the 12th October 1798.—We met with strong Gales, when we made Ushant on the French Coast, & then stretchd out into the Atlantic Ocean.—We every day made much progress in the organization of our Crew at the Great Guns &c., at which our Gallant Captain shewed much Tact & experience, which gave to all Confidence.—On the 20th I was Officer of the Morning Watch, a strong Westerly wind, The Men on the look out at the Mast heads, & the Spy glasses on Deck Sweeping the Horizon.—As the day broke clear a Strange Sail was proclaimed from the Mast head, & on our Lee Bow.—I informed the Captain, who was soon on Deck, & as the Stranger was

¹ *Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin* (Navy Records Society, xxiv.) 261-7.

² In October 1793 ; cf. James, i. 118-22.

nearing us on opposite Courses we soon made her out to be an Enemies' large Frigate.—I now again felt my Star was assuredly in the ascendant, and with a light Heart Ordered the Drum to beat to Quarters, & cleared Ship for Action, which was soon and cheerfully accomplished.—The Enemy kept a steady course for Brest Harbour, each having shewn our Colours.—We hauled across & commenced the Battle. We Sailed much better than the Enemy, & having got ahead of her, hauled again across her Bows, & gave Her a few awfully well directed Broadships, & as we came under her Larboard side, received from her a very well directed & heavy Broadside, which killed more of our Men & did our Ship more damage than we received during this Action of about three hours Continuance.—Having soon put all to rights, we again made pursuit a double cause of Anxiety, & again kept on the Lee quarter of the Enemy, but we were at no time of the Action clear of Gun Shot.—We were coming up fast with her, when an unlucky Shot from her long 24 pounder Stern Chasers cut our Foretopsail Ties, close up, & slewed the Tie Blocks under the Topmast Rigging, so as to prevent reeving fresh Ties; but as we Sailed still better than the Enemy, with our Fore Topsail on the Cap, it was Ultimately of no great consequence; still we were under the heavy Fire of her long 24

pounders, & two long twelve Pounders from her Stern, as we came up, & our Bow Guns of only two twelve Pounders returning the Fire.—As soon as we got further on to bring the Two foremost Guns to bear, Captain Martin went down on the Main Deck, & himself directed the training of an Eighteen Pounder, & by a slight yaw of the Ship fired it himself, & fortunately brought down the Enemies Gaff, & consequently she lost the Advantage of her Spanker. This was truly a cheering effort of our Gallant Captain.—On his return to the Quarter Deck I went forward to get the Fore Topsail up, if possible, & for this purpose ascended the Fore Rigging, when the Chief Boatswain's Mate (named Scott), The Boatswain being killed, rushed up & exclaimed, 'The first Lieutenant of this Ship shall not, while I Live in her, have to do the duty which belongs to me & every Able Seaman to perform.—Be pleased, Sir, to go down on the Main Deck, & cheer them up there, & I will do all that can be done here.—I left him to his work, though his efforts, great as they were, was ineffectual.—

I was soon down on the Main Deck, where the first Man I spoke with was an Irish Man, & good Seaman. This very Gallant fellow loudly Exclaimed, 'Sir, do lay us alongside the Enemy again, & we will cut her in pieces.'—At this time the green hands of our Crew, who had never seen blood spilt before,

or Limbs flying about like straws in a farm yard by the Wind, were surely astonished.—But with all of whom, & every Man on Deck from forward to Aft, this Noble Sentiment reanimated all hearts, & as the Men Cheered, I said, follow my Example in Death or Victory, I off Hat and threw it out of the Port overboard, when every Hat on the Main Deck followed it, with another great Cheer.—I now returned to the Quarter Deck, where I found our Gallant Captain paying all attention to the Steerage of the Ship.—I told him what had passed on the Main Deck.—We closed fast with the Enemy, & well did our Crew perform their promise.—I never saw more perfect order, or more efficient Fire.—We had now got on the Lee beam of the Enemy, when we observed her Sheer down with Crowded Decks, apparently with the Intention to lay us on board.—But on nearing us She observed our readiness to give her a warm reception.—As was my Station, I headed the Boarders, & I now felt I led as Brave a Crew as any in the British Navy. And it soon appeared the Enemy had a different end in view. I saw her throw her Signal Flags overboard, & next followed her Tricoloured Ensign: She had Surrendered.¹—No Men but those in similar situations

¹ Byam Martin, in his letter to Lord Bridport reporting this action (Navy Records Society, xxiv. 276–9) says, ‘I should wish to commend the steady good conduct of Mr. Carden, first lieutenant of the *Fisgard*, on this occasion.’

can copy to their minds the sensations of the Victor on such Occasions, nor will I attempt to describe them.—Suffice it to say the Feat was accomplished, & we were all pleased with ourselves.—Our Gallant Captain received the Congratulations of all, as the mode of expression urged them to the different modes of conveying it.—While the Jolly Boat from the Stern was getting ready for being lowered My Order to Command the Prize & carry her into Plymouth Sound was made out & Signed. I was soon in the Boat, & as my only Luggage was my Sword, was lowered from the stern in the Boat with four Men, & Boarded the Surrendered Ship.—The Fishguard out all Boats direct, & sent them to Exchange the Prisoners.—The Wind during the Battle was Strong from the Westward, but at this time it increased to a heavy Gale, & before the work of clearing the Prize of the Prisoners could be accomplished, it blew so heavy a Gale, & heavy Sea rolling, that the Boats could no longer encounter the Storm. Thus it was that I was left in the Prize with only twenty five Seamen & one hundred Prisoners, not including the Wounded of the Enemy.—The Prize prov'd to be the *L'Immortalité* of 42 Guns, Twenty four long 24 pounders on her Main Deck, 16 Carronades, 32 pounders on her Quarter Deck & Forecastle, & two long twelve Pounders.¹ The Fishguard was the same size &

¹ Byam Martin reports her force as ' forty-two guns (24 pounders)

Force as the Macedonian, which the reader may see at Appendix No. 11.—The Enemy had in addition to her Complement of Seamen 250 Troops on board,¹ & was one of the Expedition² to Ireland, which Consisted of one Sail of the Line (La Hoche) & five³ Frigates, all full of Troops, only two of which return'd to France, L'Hoche & three Frigates being Captured by our Squadrons sent in pursuit of them.—I found L'Immortalité immensely cut up in Hull, Rigging & Masts, & the Slaughter on board her very great, being 120 killed & wounded, while the Fishguard did not exceed 36,⁴ but it must be recollected the Enemy was Crowded with Troops, & all on Deck at Quarters or Small Arms.—Our first effort was to put the Helm up, & Set what Sail we could for England, Secure the Guns, which were left all loose rolling about the Decks, & securing as far as we could the tottering Masts,

on the main deck and 9 pounders with 42 pounder carronades on the quarter deck' (op. cit., p. 277). James reckons her broadside as 450 lb., and gives her complement as 330 (op. cit., p. 161). He puts her guns as 24 long French 24 pounders, 4 brass 36 pounders, and 16 long 8 pounders.

¹ Making a total of 580, according to Byam Martin.

² That under Bompart, which left Brest September 17, 1798, but was brought to action off Tory Island on October 11 and 12 by Sir J. Borlase Warren and dispersed.

³ James gives the names of eight such vessels.

⁴ Byam Martin gives his own loss at 10 killed and 25 wounded, the French as 54 and 61 (op. cit., p. 277).

& also keep a sharp look out on our great number of Prisoners, Collecting all stray Arms, & disarming every Prisoner to his knife.—We had much to do, no time to Eat, drink, or Sleep, The Gale still increased, & to reduce Sail was difficult, as all the Ropes were much cut by our Shot.—It soon became dark night, & heavy Sea, but I was beginning to feel we should overcome all our difficulties, when the Carpenters Mate I had brought with me came up & said, Sir, the Ship has seven feet water in the Hold, & is gaining very fast.—Before he had finished his report our Mizzen Mast fell over the Stern with an awful Crash, & the Fishguard's Launch, which we had kept towing astern, was by the fall of this Mast on her bows torn adrift.—We cut away the Wreck of the Mast as soon as possible.—We were now surely in an awkward situation, but fond Hope never deserts the Seaman.—The French Carpenter of the Ship now came up & said he knew the cause of the Leak in the Ship, and that if I would send two Men & a light with him he could stop it. I ordered our Carpenter's Mate & another Man to proceed with him, when they found the Leak proceeded from three Eighteen pounder Shot from our Ship, which had struck her under the Counter into the Bread room, which was fortunately now empty, from the long time the Ship had been at Sea & the overcharged number of persons on board,

without gaining any supplies or being enabled to accomplish their nefarious object.—The effort proved successful, our Men & the Prisoners were all at the Pumps, & self preservation had Nerved every Man to the utmost pitch of Exertion. For it surely appeared at one time hardly probable we could long preserve the Ship from sinking. And although the Fishguard kept us in sight, we were too deeply engaged in self preservation to place an Eye upon her, & it blew too heavy a Gale for a Boat to Live on the water.—I was now Cheered by the report of the Carpenters, that they had succeeded in plugging the Shot Holes, the Men at the Pumps kept on in unabated Labour, & by Day light we had cleared the Ships Hold of Water.—

We kept a steady course for Plymouth before the Gale, which continued its Fury, the Fishguard in sight ahead. All went on cheerly during this day, with the prospect of getting into Port this night with our Prize.—We had now time to seek the cause of a great stench which came up from the after Hatchway, & found Forty Corpses mangled by our Shot had been thrown down there.—(The French always throw their killed in Battle into the Hold, & we always throw our killed overboard direct.)—Among the mangled Corpse here we found that of the Captain of *L'Immortalité*, & of General

Ménage,¹ who was second in Command of the Troops originally intended to Invade Ireland.²—

As Night approached we lost sight of the Fishguard, but the Gale still raged. At 8 P.M. we made the Eddystone light, hauled in for the Ram Head under close reefed Main Top Sail & Fore Sail, made the Admiral's light in Cawsand Bay in my old Ship the Queen Charlotte, & also the Fishguard's light clearly, & followed her into Plymouth Sound (but no Breakwater at this time), where we let go our only Anchor, bundled up our Sails, & veered out every fathom of Cable we had on this only Anchor left in the Ship, & worn out by fatigue stretched ourselves on the Cabin Deck to relieve exhausted Nature.—Boats from all quarters were alongside before we could well arouse ourselves.—The Gale had subsided, & we received the Cheers & greetings of every new comer.—Captain Martin went on shore to report his arrival to the Port Admiral, & I went to pay my respects to Sir Charles Thompson on board the Queen Charlotte, & found he had gone to our Prize to

¹ James (ii. 160) calls him Monge, but Byam Martin gives his name as Ménage.

² The force under Humbert, which landed at Killala Bay August 22, 1798, and surrendered to Lord Cornwallis on September 8 at Ballinamuck. For its operations cf. Fortescue, *British Army*, iv. 591-4, and General Maurice's *Diary of Sir John Moore*, vol. i, chap. xiii.

see me.—On my return I found the Boats of all the Men of War & the Dock Yard ready to take us up the Harbour.—We had now plenty of fresh hands on board, the Anchor was soon up, The Air rent with Cheers of the Multitude who lined the Shores as we passed up, & we all felt doubly happy in taking the Moorings on board our Prize in Hamoaze.—

The work of dismantling took place without any delay, and in the Evening I was enabled to get on Shore, to the great comfort of my good & Anxious Wife.¹—All hands wrought hard, & soon got the Prize ready to deliver up to the Dock Yard Authorities, when She was Purchased from the Captors by the Government, & added to the list of the British Navy.²—By return of Post from the Admiralty, & on the receipt of Captain Martin's public letter to them, I received from their Lordships my Commission as a Commander in the Royal Navy, & now my kind reader, having risen from the Rank of Lieutenant in this good Year 1798, I bid such Rank farewell.—

¹ Carden has not previously mentioned his marriage, of which the Carden family knew no more than that after a few years it ended in a divorce: cf., however, p. 219.

² Under her original name, as a 36-gun frigate, but armed with 18 pounders instead of her old 24 pounders, which were considered too heavy for her.

CHAPTER 4th.

I WAS now Living in a great Naval Sea Port, mixing each day with Captains in Command. I liked, & still do, my Profession, & each day proclaiming new Captures from the Enemy made me to feel such a Sea Port not a fit residence for my Anxious feelings as a half Pay Officer, being still determined to seek no private Influence, but to rise by my Sword alone.—I now formed the resolution to Visit Malvern, and found on my arrival there my good Uncle Surman had just left to join his Regiment the South Glo'ster, but was very friendly received by Mrs. Plummer, an old acquaintance of our Family, also by my good old Grandfather in Law, who was still Vicar of this Parish, & who during my sojourn at Sea had built a handsome Cottage, below the Village, which he named Pomona Place, & was pleased to offer to me at a Rent of one Guinea per Annum as long as I or any of my Family chose to inhabit it.—I soon took possession, & furnished it by hired Furniture, for I felt quite assured I could not long be unemployed on the Ocean.—I had much amusement in putting things inside & outside in order about my Country residence, & the Spring of 1799 shot forth in all its beauties, as it were to lure

me from my Predilection of the Blue waters of Ocean's Surface.—But No!!!—I still longed for my long esteemed Element, feeling as the Poet describes,

He ne'er was fit for Wars or Strife,
Who's fond of dull Domestic Life.

Early in July, being to Dine with a Gentleman near Upton on Severn, on my return late in the Evening I found an Admiralty letter awaiting me, appointing me to the Command of His Majesty's Ship the Sheerness of 44 Guns, at Sheerness, but now Armed en flute, or with her Main & quarter Deck Guns only.—The next forenoon completed all my arrangements. M^{rs} Carden left Pomona Cottage & sojourned with M^{rs} Plummer, whose Carriage conveyed me to Worcester in the Evening, from whence I took my Passage in the Mail Coach, & got to London in due Season, took up my Commission at the Admiralty, & the same Evening Commissioned His Majestys Ship Sheerness, at Sheerness.—

My Orders were very pressing to get ready for Sea, & place myself under the Orders of Lord Duncan. I had parties of Men from different Ships in Port to assist our fitting out, & at it we went with a good will.—And from a clean swept hold I had all supplies on board & Ship ready for Sea in Six Weeks.—I now Embarked the Head quarters of four Hundred Men of the 3rd Regiment,

or Buffs,¹ with its Colonel, the Earl of Dalhousie,² & his Brother, Major Ramsay, and proceeded to Sea, when we joined a large Fleet of Transports & Ships of War, to Invade Holland, & to restore it to the Orange Dynasty.³—The History of this date will best Inform the Reader how under the temporary Dictate of Buonaparte it became defunct.—This Army was under the Command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the Navy under Lord Duncan. But the Executive of the Navy was under the immediate guidance of that well informed & Gallant Officer, Sir Andrew Mitchell.⁴—Our Rendezvous was off the Texel, & the Wind being strong East we had a very tedious passage.—

Having reached our Destination, every arrangement was made to Land the Army.⁵—A number of our Gunboats were Anchored along the Shore to

¹ This is an error. The Buffs did not take part in the expedition to North Holland, being in the West Indies. Lord Dalhousie was Colonel of the Queen's (2nd Foot), which regiment embarked on the *Sheerness*; cf. Davis, *History of the Queen's Regiment*, vol. iii. p. 332.

² George, ninth Earl in the peerage of Scotland, created Baron Dalhousie in the peerage of the United Kingdom 1815, Major-General 1808, commanded the 7th Division of Wellington's Army in the Peninsula, October 1812—April 1814, General 1830, Commander-in-Chief in East Indies 1829–32; ob. 1838.

³ For the story of this expedition cf. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, iv. 639–710; Dunfermline's *Life of Sir Ralph Abercrombie*; Bunbury's *Passages in the Great War with France* and vol. v of the *Dropmore Papers* (Historical MSS. Commission).

⁴ Andrew Mitchell (1757–1806), Rear-Admiral 1795, Vice-Admiral 1799, Admiral 1805.

⁵ This was on August 27.

guard our Army until formed on the Beach.—The Army for disembarking was formed in two Divisions.—I commanded the Boats of the Left division on this Service.—It was arranged by me & the Earl of Dalhousie that the Boats of this Left division would Land on that part of the Beach where a Union Jack would be shewn on a Staff, & for which purpose Lieutenant Swan of the Buffs¹ was to & did accompany me in my Barge to bear the Staff and Flag.—As we neared the Shore the Enemies Guns from the heights of Keik Down² opened a heavy Fire of Grape Shot, & our Gun boats could not elevate their Guns to silence those of the Enemy.—Before we reached the Shore, on which was a strong Surf rolling, many of the Oars in the hands of my Boats Crew were cut & broken by the Enemies' fire, & while Lieutenant Swan was sitting at my elbow in the Stern of my Barge a Grape Shot hit him in the Breast, which caused immediate Death.—Everything depended on the point of Disembarkation being distinctly visible.—I therefore jumped on Shore through the Surf with the Union Jack on a Boat-hook staff, & ordered the Lieutenant of my Ship in the Barge to proceed off & hurry the Flotilla of Troops to my standard. It was well

¹ This officer belonged to the Queen's. According to Colonel Davis (op. cit. iii. 338) he was not killed but severely wounded:

² This should more properly be called Kycksduin or Kuikduin.

effected, & though many Balls pierc'd the Flag not one hit the Standard bearer.—The Troops quickly Landed, quickly formed & double quick ascended the heights of Keich down.¹ Lord Dalhousie in passing me Exclaimd, 'Captain Carden, join us up the Hill. Our Men will be glad to see your Blue Coat.' I did so, & surely I witnessed what the World know to their Cost, & yet to their Admiration, the Noble & undaunted Courage & Tact of the British Soldier.—They cleared every obstacle, the Enemies' Cannon were hurled down the Sand Hills, & the Summit gained without that loss to our Gallant Troops which might have been expected.—Much Sea was rolling on the Beach below, & many of the Boats that had landed the Troops were Stove, & the Crews wandering about. I consequently returned to make the necessary Arrangements, & placing the Crews of the Boats wrecked in those that had not suffered very soon cleared all off.—The next Morning a Russian Squadron arrivd with Troops to join Sir Ralph Abercrombie, which was soon got all on Shore, & not long in joining our Army. They were all fine Men & seemed well appointed.—

By the frequent reports from our Army, & the numbers of Prisoners sent by them to the Fleet, we felt assured all was going on well, and it now

¹ i. e. Kycksduin.

became the business of our Gallant Naval Chief, Sir Andrew Mitchell, to perform his part of this Expedition.—The Dutch Fleet, that is, all the Ships the Gallant Duncan left them after the Battle of Camperdown,¹ which consisted of the Van Ships in that Battle which had escaped under the Vice Admiral Storie,² & such others as they could now collect, they all now lay in the Mars Diep in the Zuider Sea, the Entrance protected by the Batteries on the Helder point, which had surrendered to the British Army since landing.—The Signal was made for a Naval Council of War, & when we had all collected on board Sir Andrew Mitchell's Ship,³ He then said, Tomorrow Morning the Tide will answer to enter the Texel, when I mean to attack the Enemy in the Mars Diep.—I tell you that all etiquette of Seniority is for that occasion abolished, & as soon as the Signal to attack the Enemy is made by me, each Ship will proceed & attack the Enemy as you can arrive up. And now Gentlemen I desire you will retire to your respective Ships & get all in readiness.—Thus in a few minutes all was said that generally ought to be said on Councils of War, as many Men of many minds Harass the more matur'd plans of a Chief & do more harm than good in Naval Warfare.—

There had been much intercourse by means of

¹ Oct. 11th 1797.

² or Storiij.

³ The *Isis*, 50.

Dutch Men who were strong supporters of the Prince of Orange,¹ & who strongly detested the French ruling in Holland, with the Ships & Crews of the Dutch Fleet, & who reported strong hopes of the Orange party prevailing.—Sir Andrew Mitchell had by a Flag of Truce offered the Dutch Admiral to receive the Dutch Fleet & Crews, & the same to be reserved in England for the Prince of Orange, until the time might arrive for his return to the Government of his Country.—Or otherwise he Sir Andrew Mitchell promptly demanded the unconditional Surrender to the British Flag.²—No reply being made to this Summons,³ the British Squadron up Anchor & stood into the Zuider Sea.—The Ship I commanded was not of that Force to compose one of the Attacking Squadron, but I kept an anxious & steady look out with my Spy Glass from the Helder Point.—As Sir Andrew Mitchell near'd the Enemy, a great bustle seem'd to ensue among them, & before his Ships could commence Battle the Dutch Squadron struck the Tricolour'd Flag of France & hoisted the Colours of the Prince

¹ A great deal more was expected by Pitt and Dundas in the way of assistance from the Orange faction than proved to be forthcoming; this was indeed one of the chief causes of the comparative ill-success of the expedition.

² This message had been sent in on August 22.

³ According to Laird Clowes (iv. 409), Storiĳ did send a reply, refusing to comply with Mitchell's demands.

of Orange.¹—This sav'd both parties much Bloodshed, & was more effectual to the Interests of Great Britain.—

The Dutch Admiral Storie, in his letter of Surrender to Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell says, 'I regret I am Surrounded by Traitors, & this alone obliges me to Surrender.'—But remark reader, this said Admiral Storie was the same Man who Commanded the Van Division of Admiral de Winters Fleet in Action with Lord Duncan off Camperdown, & who bore up with his Division & left his Admiral De Winter to his only alternative, Surrender to the British Fleet under Lord Duncan.²

Officers from our Squadron were directly sent on Board the Surrender'd Ships, Eleven of the Line,³ and all possible Dispatch was made to get the Dutch Surrender'd Ships under Sail for a British Port.—We had continuous Communication with

¹ The account given by Carden does not quite tally with that in James (iii. 347–8) and Laird Clowes (iv. 409–11): they represent the capture of the Dutch fleet as having taken place in two instalments, some seventeen vessels in the Nieuwe Diep having fallen into British hands when Sir John Moore seized the Helder on August 28, and the rest of the squadron, twelve ships, mostly line-of-battle ships, capitulating on August 30.

² Carden is hardly accurate: Storijs's ship, *Die Staten General*, was in the centre, not the van, of the Dutch line, and the accounts of the battle afford no justification for this imputation of desertion. He was not put on his trial.

³ The captured vessels included one 74, three 68's, three 64's, two 56's, a 54, and eight 44's, besides several smaller.

our Army, who with frequent reinforcements arriving carried all before them, until they got to a certain Point where it was said Sir Ralph Abercromby was to await the arrival of the Duke of York.—I was then told that Sir Ralph remark'd, 'If I proceed further & meet a Check, I shall surely be accounted reprehensible. I have so far done all I have been directed to do, & though I feel if I were not Shackled by Orders, I might follow up the Victory.'—He did await the arrival of the Duke of York, & I leave you, Reader, to the History of those times to be aware of the result.—

A French Army Officer of Rank, who was sent on board my Ship as a Prisoner, said to me, 'If the British Army follow up their Victory, & get Possession of the Strong passes on the Dutch Frontier, they may keep Holland, but if otherwise they must be beaten out, as a strong French Army is fast approaching.'—In reading History you will be enabled to conclude the Truth of this French Officer's remarks to me, and I must also remark the very strong Emphasis this Officer placed, in expressing the great Gallantry of the British Soldier, to an extent, he exclaimed, the French Army had not before met with.—The English & Dutch Squadron being all in readiness we proceeded to England, the Port of Chatham, and on my arrival at the Nore was Ordered to Plymouth, where I

again receiv'd Orders to Proceed to Quiberon Bay & place myself under the Orders of Captain Keats¹ of His Majestys Ship *Boadicea*.—Being well refitted in Ship's Stores, we took on board all kinds of Munitions of War, & many French Emigrants, & proceeded to our Destination, in order to succour & give all our aid to the good People in La Vendée, who still resisted the Usurped Power in France & Bravely held out for the Bourbon Dynasty.—We found them ready to receive all we had to give, & General Georges, the Vendéan Chief, held frequent communication with me, as I held the Chief of the Supplies,—We had frequent Skirmishing with the Coasting Trade & the Batteries to which they always resorted for safety along Shore.—

Laying off the Mouth of the Charrante, I resolved one Evening to have a Spree up that River, & got two Six Oared Boats, a few Volunteers, one Lieutenant, two Midshipmen & myself, & set off, all well armed.—We took the last quarter Flood Tide up, & as we arrived among the Coasting Vessels, we boarded & carried them without much Opposition, & as the Cutlash was the only Weapon used (Musquets would have alarmed the many Batteries, Gun Boats &c) and the Crews of the Enemies' Vessels, who could not escape in their Boats, jumped overboard, & as we did not look for or enquire after them,

¹ Richard Goodwin Keats (1757–1834), Rear-Admiral 1807, Vice-Admiral 1811, Admiral 1825, K.B. 1807.

conclude they all swam safely on Shore.—We went on our work until we had fourteen in possession.—Among the last boarded with our diminished Crew was one by the Boat I was in, & in which it appeared was Embarked a Lieutenant in the French Navy, & by the address on his Trunk, bound to L'Orient.—On our boarding our Men dashed forward, where alone we could discern any person on board; I went abaft, hearing the splash in the water as the French Crew jumped overboard to avoid our Men's Cutlash, I now found an Officer on this part of the Deck, Sword in hand. I called to him to Surrender, but No!!! He made towards me, & as I was not an experienced Swordsman I felt it would have been convenient had one of my Crew been with me.—However, at it we went, & by parrying one thrust, I by main force made one thrust at my Foe, & luckily by not meeting Bone or stiff Muscle, placed my Sword right through with such Force (being then a heavy powerful Man) that the point, on my Combatants falling, literally pinned him to the Deck. He was soon Dead & I left him in the Charrante River.—

The Ebb Tide now making down We cut the Enemies Cables, & with our small means got one Sail on each Vessel, & with a light land wind got them all out the same track we came in.—We now fired Musquets & burnt blue lights to attract the

attention of my Ship, & very soon had succour.—I was Proud of my Squadron of small Craft in the Morning, & paraded as many as we could get Union Jacks (English Colours) to hoist over the French Flag off their Port.—We soon had many persons off, claiming our Prizes as the property of Loyalists, & many bearing a Certificate from General Georges, to that effect, & Eight of those Commodore Keats restord. One we knew was a good Prize, for my Boats Crew found in the Cabin of the Vessel, in which I slew the French Lieutenant, the whole of his Kit, with which they had rigged themselves out in Harlequin Style, Cocked Hats, Tricoloured Cockades, long Coats, &c, &c, and the usual Appendage of Frenchmen, a Silver Fork & spoon. The Crew brought these to me, which I accepted, & I presented the same to my first Cousin, John Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court.—From the other Six Vessels I took every thing out worth taking, Such as Brandy, Casteel Soap, & much of the best of the Wine which was their Chief Cargo, & burned the Vessels.—

A few days after this a fine large Armed Chasse marée¹ came out from the Morbihan, with a large swaggering Tricoloured Flag & Pendant. She stood across our Bows two Gun Shot distance, with the intention of taking the Passage Duraz from

¹ i. e. a type of coasting-vessel peculiar to the Breton-Atlantic coasts of France; low and very fast, generally lugger-rigged.

Quiberon Bay to Belle Isle & L'Orient. This narrow passage lays between the Isles of Hedic & Howit,¹ & forms the Western Shelter of this Bay.—I soon saw She could not fetch this Channel, as the wind became scant.—To get the Ship under way & Sail after her would be as useless & non avail as to send a Cow in Chase of a Hare.—I then quickly Signalised Commodore Keats for permission to Chase the Enemy in view with my Boats.—The Answer was affirmative, but further said, do not expect any help from me.—My Officers & Crew looked with anxious wish to Cut the Swagger out of this Stranger, & I felt authorised to give their Zeal the opportunity, and off I sent the Launch with her twelve Pounder Carronade & 16 Crew, a Cutter with seven Men, & Jolly Boat with four Men, My first Lieutenant, & three Midshipmen.—They set off with three hearty Cheers, all Volunteers, & soon obliged the Enemy to abandon the chance of escaping by the Passage du Raz.—He then bore up for the head of Quiberon Bay, with Sweeps & all Sail out.—Our Boats gained on him in good Stile.—He now opened a Fire on our Boats from four Six pounders long Guns, which was well returned by the Launch's twelve Pounder Carronade.—At length the Enemy, finding She could not escape, run their Vessel on Shore high up the Bay, on a Shingle or coarse Gravel Beach.—Before our Boats could get up a small

¹ *Sic* MS., i.e. Houa.

boat landed four persons from the Enemies' Craft.—A light Horse Artillery Gun came down, but our Launch's twelve Pounder soon sent them off, as the Coarse Shingle by the force of our Shot Cut the Men & horses to the extent, as my Friend at Treddington Court has it, of obliging them to Cut their Stick.—Our Boats Boarded & took possession of the Enemies' Vessel without much opposition, & by getting her Anchor out astern hove her off without damage, & by Sun Set this same Evening She was along side the Sheerness. She proved to be a French Government Craft from Nantes, bound to Belle Isle, with General Duteil¹ as Governor, with his Suite of Servants, a Serjeant & twelve Soldiers, who ought to have made resistance.—The General Escaped in the Small boat, on his Vessel taking the Ground, & in such a hurry did he Escape that he left every thing but what he stood in on board, Even to his Commission as Governor of Belle Isle, Plate, Linnen, Trinkets or what is called Bijoutrie, Sword, Fowling Piece &c.—We calculated the whole to be worth two Thousand Pounds.—His head Servant, now my Prisoner, represented the General as an old Man; & feeling the distress he must experience at the loss of his Servants, Clothes, &c, I got the cheerful Sanction of Commodore Keats to return all his private Property by a Flag of Truce, at the point he Escaped.—And

¹ Dutile, MS.

on the next Morning sent for his Servant to see that all his private property was secure & repacked ; & being placed in a Boat with his Servant, & what I termed a Polite Note, to say, Englishmen did not make War on private individual Property.—To all our great surprise, as soon as the Generals property was Landed, the French Republicans fired on our Boat, while the Flag of Truce was flying, but fortunately No one of our Crew was hit.—So much for French Honour.

We continued to supply the Royalists party with what Munitions of War they needed, & prosecuted the War on this Coast in their favour to the full extent of our means, by destroying the Trade & Communications.—We continued the frequent Capture of French Coasters, with the best of whose Cargoes I filled up our large Captured Government Chasse Marée, which being Accomplishd, we sent her with her French Commander & two of her Officers to prove Condemnation in the Admiralty Court, & a Crew from the Squadron into Plymouth to be Condemned as a Lawful Prize to the Captors. Having now delivered all the Stores I brought here for the Royalists in Le Vendée, Commodore Keats ordered my return to Plymouth, where we soon completed our Stores & Provisions, & was ordered direct to join a Squadron & Transports to convey to the Mediteranean part of that Army of & under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, which was intended

to Invade Egypt & turn out thence the Army of Buonaparte.—I took out five Hundred of the 48th Regiment¹ & Landed at Minorca, the then Rendezvous.—I returned direct to England, & was Ordered on my Arrival to place myself under the Command of Commodore Sir Home Popham,² destined to the Red Sea, & to Co-operate with the British Army under Sir Ralph Abercrombie on the Mediteranean side of Egypt, & for which purpose we were to be joined by an Army from India.—We were much hurried in Equipment, in the Downs, & there Embarked four Hundred Officers & Men of the 65th Regiment, chiefly what was then term'd a Boy Regiment,³ being collected from

¹ According to Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, vol. iv, p. 781, the 48th did not come out to Minorca from England but were already at Gibraltar. Possibly for 48th one should read 40th, which regiment came out to Minorca at this time direct from England; cf. also note 1 on p. 186.

² Home Riggs Popham (1762–1820), Admiral 1814, K.C.B. 1815, M.P. 1804–12, best known as the inventor of the Navy Signals and for his share in the disastrous attack on the Spanish colonies in South America, cf. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, v. 310 ff.

³ The 65th had been reduced to a skeleton by service in the West Indies, and to fill its ranks the experiment was tried of enlisting 'parish boys' aged between 12 and 16. A similar plan was adopted with the 22nd Foot, and among the recruits so obtained for that regiment was John Shipp, whose *Memoirs* give some account of the scheme. The 65th were at this time being sent to the Cape in order to become acclimatized before being sent on to India, where they served with much distinction for over twenty years; cf. Fortescue, *op. cit.*, iv. 888 n.

Juveline¹ offenders, out of Prisons, Parish Annoyances &c &c.—With this Motley party we Sailed with our Squadron, Consisting of the Romney 50 Guns, Commodore Sir Home Popham, Sensible, Wilhelmina, & Sheerness, Arm'd en flute, & Victor Sloop of War, on the 30th November 1799.—²

Severe Gales drove us into Weymouth Roads on the third of December, & here completed our Water, & becoming Moderate Sailed again on the 5th.—On the 19th we reachd Madeira, recruited water & Supplies, & on the 23rd Sailed with the Squadron. — On the 27th the Romney, Sensible, & a Transport parted Company, & left the Wilhelmina Senior Officer, Victor Sloop of War in Company.—We proceeded comfortably on until the 31st December, When on the commencement of the new Year a Violent Fever broke out among the Troops, which daily increas'd to a quite awful extent ; at one time we had one hundred & eleven Men down with this what we then term'd Jail Fever, as until Embarking this Regiment we were always a Healthy Ship.—We proceeded on our Voyage with the utmost Anxiety, our Sickness increasing & consequently our Deaths, & a Host of Sharks, who daily fed on the daily Burials of the

¹ *Sic* MS, : i. e. juvenile.

² This must be a mistake for 1800, as the orders for the dispatch of Abercomby's force to Egypt were only issued in October 1800. Moreover the 48th Foot reached Minorca in May 1800; cf. Fortescue, iv. 781.

Troops & Ship's Crew, who now became Infected.—On the 20th of February I was permitted by Captain Lind of the *Wilhelmina* to part Company, as we Sailed much better than his Ship, & surely we needed to reach Port, the Cape of Good Hope, without delay, our passage being already delayed by light Variable Winds & the dull Sailing of the Senior Officer's Ship, being an old Dutch Frigate.¹—We were obliged to place all hands on half allowance of Bread & Water, an awfully griveious extremity in the case of the Fevered & thirsty state of our Troops and Crew.—On the 25th of February we made Saldanha Island bearing N.E. I had determind to enter that Harbour, but we were unacquainted with its Entrance, & now dreadfully in need of Water, at even our Short allowance, & only three days of such on board.—But now most Providentially at this Season here an unusual occurrence of a N.W. wind took place; it was but a light Breese. We got a sight of the Cape of Good Hope before the Commencement of a thick Fog, & we well knew our position, & in the night stood on with the same light wind for Table Bay. We were headed by the Wind, but at day light we found ourselves in Green, or False Bay, with now a dense Fog & Calm.—The Breakers on the Rocks on the Shores of this Bay

¹ She was the Dutch 36 gun frigate *Furie*, taken off the Texel in October 1798 by the British 36 gun frigate *Sirius*; cf. James, ii. 271.

were awful, being lifted to our View by the Fog as high as our Mast heads.—I sent the Master in a boat to Sound, inshore of us, & out all Boats to Tow the Ship out of the Bay, & fired Guns to recall the Master.—At Noon the boat returned, & with a light Breeze but fair we rounded Green Point, & saw the Admiral's Flag (Sir Roger Curtis's) in Table Bay. We just at this time committed to the Sea the body of the last Victim of our dread Disease which had assailed us soon after leaving Madeira, during which passage we had committed Seventy four bodies to the Deep, & two died in the Boats removing them on Shore to the Hospital.—

Every assistance being given, we were soon cleared of the Troops, & sent such Seamen as were infected by Disease to the Hospital, & received all necessary Supplies.—We found here the Romney, Sir H. Popham, Sensible, Victor Sloop of War, & the Cape Squadron under Admiral Sir Roger Curtis. The Wilhelmina arrived a few days after.—Having got all clear, we set to work to Fumigate the Ship from the Hold to the upper Deck. We washed or turned over in the Hold all the Shingle Ballast with quick Lime Wash, & washed every part of the Ship with the same material & by hand brushes, Threw overboard all the bedding of the diseased Troops & Seamen, & scrubbed all Hammocks; we boiled every article of Seamen's clothing in the Ship's

Coppers, & laboured hard in every way to get rid of our late awful disease, &, as will appear, most effectually destroyed it, root & Branch.—

We had Seamen from the Squadron to assist in refitting the Ship.—On the 1st March the Romney Sir H. Popham, Sensible, & Victor Sloop of War, sailed for the Red Sea, whom we were to follow.—The Admiral & General Dundas, the Governor, came on board to inspect my Ship, & highly approved of all my plans & efforts to destroy our late infectious disease.—

On the 25th March we began to Embark the 61st Regiment for the Red Sea & Egypt, & whose numbers left by the former Ships¹ was all now cleared & Embarked by the Wilhelmina & Sea Nymph Transport.—We Sailed on the 31st March 1801.² On rounding the Cape we bore up for the Straits of Madagascar.³—As we passed through, being light winds, one day I landed on a small Island to take distances of the Sun & Moon for Longitude, & on our return was attacked by a Host of Sharks, who seized the blades of the Oars, & literally Splintered some of them; it became Serious, when

¹ Four companies of the regiment had already sailed 'on secret service' at the beginning of February, leaving the head-quarters and six companies to follow in the *Sheerness*, &c.; cf. Cannon's *Historical Records of the 61st Foot*.

² MS. 1800: but cf. note 2 on p. 128, Cannon op. cit. confirms the date 1801.

³ MS. 'Magascar'.

I fired a Musquet Ball into the head of one, close to the muzzle of the Gun. It was dead direct & turned up, when the rest set to to devour it, & thus we lost our troublesome Strangers, & got on board without further molestation.—We now proceeded to round Africa, generally in distant sight of Land, with the Usual routine of a Sea Voyage.—The Weather getting very Hot, & the consumption of Water consequently greater, which with the crowded state of our Ship made me most Anxious.—I now had recourse to an Expediency to quench the raging thirst of the Men, more particularly aggravated by living on Salt Provisions.—I had them placed in Groups on the upper Deck, & with & through a rose head from our Fire Engine played the Salt water on them, with their Shirt & Trowsers on only, & in the Sun less than a half hour proved to be sufficient, not only to abate the thirst, but also to supply the Urinary Glands to the full extent, as though they had the most perfect liquid in profusion, The Salt remaining on their Shirt & Trowsers, & the fresh water Filtered through the Pores, so as to supply the calls of Nature, & their clothes became as stiff with the Salt as though they had been exposed to a hard Frost.—

On the 22nd of May, being well in the Gulf of Arabia & on the African Shore, Captain Lind, of the *Wilhelmina* proposed to Land & obtain Water,

as it now became too Short allowance for Cooking for so many Men.—And for this purpose we Anchored in a convenient Bay, Out all Boats, Manned & Armed with Troops as well as Seamen, got our Water Casks rafted for Landing, & full of Hope to get our needed Supply, as the Wind at this time was against our entering the Red Sea to Mocha.—We found here several of the Natives, & who made signs to us, & seemed accustomed to Trade to India & the Red Sea, & which signs we understood, that they would bring Water to our Ships for twenty Dollars per Cask; & while we were regulating an Exploring party to take Water by Force, the wind changed a few points, & enabled us to proceed towards Aden.¹—We soon got all on board again, up Anchor, & proceeded but slowly, & though suffering from short allowance of Water, we were all Healthy on board.—

On the 26th we made Babelmandel,² & on the 28th Anchored in Mocha roads with only two days water on board at our reduced allowance.—The East India Companys Agent on Shore here promoted our Supplies all in his power, but we needed much for nearly Six Hundred Men, & had much to do in refitting the Ship.—Every Man worked hard, & we got on well.—

¹ MS. 'Eden', but Aden is obviously meant.

² Bab-el-Mandeb.

On the 2nd June the Wilhelmina Sailed, & on the 4th, having completed our Supplies as far as means would admit, We sailed for Judda,¹ & Cossire² in upper Egypt. The Navigation of the Red Sea at this time was very Imperfectly known, Consequently very difficult ; we had an old French Chart only as our Guide, which proved to be very erroneous. The Reader may have some Idea of the Dangers of this unknown Navigation at this time, when he is told that we lost on this Expedition from India One Frigate and seventeen Sail of Transport Ships, Chiefly Laden with Army Stores.—We had in our Ship to keep the Deep Sea lead going every half hour, which of itself was great labour, & the necessary strictness of look out was harrassing to all hands.—Being on the look out one Morning, as the day dawned (I never laid down by night during our passage up this Sea) I found the Ship Surrounded by Rocks, & appeared like black spots on the water around. I immediately Piped the Watch to Tack Ship. Down Helm, the Ship came round, I looked at the Log Board, saw the course we came into this Dilemma, & steered out the opposite Course & got clear of our Danger ; I felt the Mercy which then saved us, & still feel Thankful. . . . The next day about noon the look out Man at the Mast head hailed the Deck, ‘Two Row boats on the Lee

¹ i.e. Jidda.

² Kosseir.

Beam.' We bore up for them, when we soon found them to be laden with English Women & Children, being those of the British Army gone on to Kosseir, —They had been Embarked on a Transport Ship. The Ship was a Week since Wrecked on the Arabian Shore, and observing the Natives coming off in large Boats to Plunder, which they invariably are known to do, & also to destroy all who oppose them if they can, & seldom give Quarter to any, the Commander of the Transport sent the Women into two small Boats with four Lascars (Indian Seamen) each, in order to give them the chance of being picked up by some Ship bound up or down the Sea, for Mahometans never give Christian Women quarter.—We soon got them all on board; there were Thirty seven Women, & fifteen Children, of whom on removing the Women to the Ship four Infants were found dead under them.—No language can describe the wretched state in which the whole party were, having been a week in the Boats, little Provision, & less proportion of Fresh water, the Dews, which are Extraordinary in those Seas, being their Chief supply, by wringing it from their Clothes during the night. Among the party was the Wife & Daughter of a Quarter Master of one of the Regiments gone on to Kosseir, a very fine young Woman.—I allotted a space Screened in for this dejected party under the Quarter Deck, & by the great

attention of the Surgeon, & nourishment properly administerd, they all recovered, & except the distressed Mothers of the Infants found Dead in the Boats, all seemed Reconciled to this Melancholy Catastrophe, & we now committed the Bodies of the Infants to the Deep.—This Scene did not delay our passage up more than an hour, & the Wrecked Ship, or any of her Crew, were not again heard of, for the Natives on this part of the Arabian Coast are most uncompromisingly Savage to the Wrecked Mariner.—

We proceeded with all effort on our Passage up the Red Sea, which at this Season is most trying and harrassing, not like Steam in these days, which Laughs at Current ahead, Wind, or Tide.—The Current ever sets down this Sea, & the Wind also, except for short intervals, and it is worthy of remark, that the Current always sets up strong through the Straits of Gibraltar, '*look at your Map.*' What the Subterranean Communication may be, under the Istmus of Suez, surely is at present a perfect Secret, but the fact I have fully establishd by ocular and scientific proof.—

Just before we reached Jidda, The Port immediately under Mecca, the City of the great Imposter Mahomet, we met the Leopard of 50 Guns, with the Flag of Rear Admiral Blanket,¹ who being Superceded in the Command of those Seas by Sir Home Popham, was on his return down the

¹ John Blanket (ob. 1801), cr. Rear-Admiral 1799.

Red Sea to India & Home to Europe.—At this time the Thermometer was at 108 degrees, under the Awning on the Quarter Deck. I waited on him as in Duty bound, & found him wrapped in Flannel in his Chair, & heard subsequently that he Died a few days after off the Island of Gebel Zechir.¹—We proceeded to Kossire on the African Shore direct, where was our Rendezvous, & that of the Indian Army after leaving Judda.—I kept the Ship well to windward in order to fall in with the Latitude given by Bruce, the great Abyssinian Traveller, to whose Authority we placd much reliance.—But in this confidence we were grossly deceived. For at day light we found ourselves within two miles of a ledge of Rocks, and Thirty miles North of the true Latitude of Kossire.—We wore Ship to the Southward, & soon discover'd the Masts of our large Fleet in Kossire Roads.—

I must here remark that the Atmosphere of this Sea is so perfectly clear, no rivers running into this Sea, very seldom much rain, & what does fall of short duration, sometimes three Years without Rain in Egypt, that is, in the Southern parts, & surrounded by Sand Deserts, Consequently no matter for exaltation, nothing to evaporate, & thus it is you may discern objects twice the Distance you can in our European Seas.—

¹ Probably Jebel Zugur, an island about 50 miles W. of N. from Mocha.

We soon Anchored among the Forest of Masts in Kossire Roads, where we found Sir Home Popham & his Squadron, except the *Wilhelmina*, who did not arrive until a week after.—Many of the Bombay Marine Vessels of War, & the large Fleet of Transports that had Conveyed Seven Thousand Troops from India¹ to help to drive the French from Egypt, & which Indian Army was Commanded by Sir David Baird,² its General.—It was on the 7th July we arrived here. All was bustle; we now Landed our portion of the 61st Regiment in better Health than when they Embarked at the Cape of Good Hope, a strong proof of our cleansing & Ventilating after the heavy Sickness we had endured from Madeira to the Cape.—

The Army was all ready to cross the Desert from hence to Keena,³ where they would Embark on the Navigable Nile for Grand Cairo, & on loading the Host of Camels with water in Skins brought for that purpose, not one of the said Skins would hold water, though previously soaked. This was

¹ For the dispatch of this force cf. Fortescue, iv. 803, 857–60; also Marquess Wellesley's *Dispatches*, vol. ii, especially nos. 113, 120, 127, and the *Life of Sir D. Baird* (anonymously published in 1828), vol. i, chaps. xv–xx and vol. ii, chaps. i–iii.

² David Baird (1757–1829), the well-known general. Carden had already met him in India and met him again when assisting to re-embark Sir John Moore's army at Corunna; cf. pp. 226 ff.

³ i.e. Keneh on the Nile, about 350 miles above Cairo.

a sad draw back on General Sir David Baird ; But the difficulty was soon met by Sir Home Popham, who well knew his own resources, & ever prompt to further the efficiency & good of His Majestys Service, met Sir David Baird's difficulties with the assurance that in three days he would remedy the Evil.—I must here narrate that I had here the Honor of being recognised by Sir David Baird, as knowing my name and person during the War with Tippoo Sahib, & who again recognised me at the Governor's Ball at Madras many years ago as Midshipman, when the Sons of Tippoo Sahib appeared as Hostages for the fulfillment of the Treaty of Peace, & now again with much Friendship.—

All the Coopers of the Squadron, & we had a large gang, went to work all day, & by relief every four hours during the night, & in due time of promise (three days) all was accomplished for one half the Army to commence crossing the Desert to Keena.—The different Ships' Water casks were cut up & reduced to the size necessary to place on each side of the Camel, & water from the Fleet was supplied.—This Town of Kossire is surrounded by Desert sands, a small Mud Fort, & had a Turkish Garrison, but altogether a poor construction.—The water here is bad, being bitter and Brackish, & fit for none to use but the Camels. The Soldiers drank of it on Landing, & it had the effect of Globar Salts. But

the Shipping supplied the Troops with good water, & with a Sufficiency to cross the Deserts to Keena.— We soon completed the Portable Casks to enable the remainder of the Army to proceed, and all went on in good Health & Spirits, & we had the satisfaction to hear that all this Army of Seven thousand Men, & nearly as many followers, crossd this Desert to Keena, 200¹ Miles, with the loss only of an Old Man, Paymaster of one of the Regiments, & a Drummer who strayed among the Sand Hills, & not again heard of.²—

Thus was this Army made available, & essentially so, for the Reduction of the French Force in Egypt.—General Sir David Bairds Army had now Embarked on the Navigable Nile, with his Forces in complete order, & which achievement being Communicated by his Spies to the French General Kléber,³ He surrendered, which he certainly would not have done, unless urged by the advance of the Indian Army.⁴—And this Army could have only become efficient in co-operation, by the support

¹ The exact distance is 120 miles : cf. *Life of Baird*, i. 367.

² Fortescue (op. cit.) gives the loss of the army as three men ; he gives a rather different account of the way in which the water difficulty was met.

³ Carden is inaccurate : the French general who surrendered at Cairo was not Kléber, who had been murdered in May 1800, but Belliard.

⁴ The surrender of Cairo took place on June 27, whereas Baird did not leave Kenh for Lower Egypt till July 31. At the same

& Supplies, & Mechanical aid rendered by the Royal Navy from Europe, As the Merchant Navy could not present resources available in the various Exigencies to which they became liable.—All now being finished here, many of the Transports were discharged, many sent to Suez, & in various directions, & it was so arranged that the Sheerness which I Commanded receiv'd orders to proceed direct to Mocha.—We sailed on the 25th July 1801, with seven Sail of Bombay Marine and Armed Transports under my Orders.—We arrived in Mocha Roads on the 9th August, without any particular occurrence.—Sir Home Popham, our Commodore, had now gone to Calcutta, & taken the *Sensible* with him, to be Docked & repaired, & left me with Orders to make Mocha my Rendezvous, & to guard the Entrance to the Red Sea, as a Frigate of the Enemy was expected in those Seas, And for this purpose the Sheerness was Supplied with the Guns of the *Rockingham*, East Indiaman, consisting of long Nine Pounders & 24 Pounder Carronades.—We now mounted 52 Guns, Increased our Complement in proportion to our Armament from Volunteers out of the Transports, & Soldiers to do duty as Marines from the Hospitals, as they recovered fit for Service.—

time the arrival of the troops from India seems to have been known to the French.

Being Complete in our Armament & Crew, I took the Griffin, a Ship of the Bombay Marine, under my Orders & on the 27th August Sailed for Aden, to keep a good look out in the Gulf of Arabia for the Enemy, & on 28th in Evening Anchored in Aden Bay.—We had report from Cape Aden on the next Morning that the Sea was clear of Ships, & I sailed with the Griffin in Company to Execute part of my Orders from our Commodore, Namely, To establish a source of Supply for the British Army, should Buonaparte succeed in landing a Force in Lower Egypt equal to force our Army to retreat by way of the Red Sea for India.—The parts of the Red Sea we had yet Visited, Jedda, Hodeida,¹ Mocha & Aden, were Surrounded by Deserts, & could not exist without supplies from the African Coast, & for this purpose the Imaun, or King of Arabia, has secured a Strong Fortress at the Port of Zeyla,² a short way outside the Straits of Babelmandel, on the African Shore, known as the Coast of Adel.—And also a Port named Barbora³ to the Southward of Zeyla, but not Fortified.—No Ship had ever entered those Ports. The Trade being

¹ A port on the Arabian coast, about south-east of Massowah.

² i.e. Zeila: a port situated in longitude 43°.40' and latitude 11°.40' in the northern part of what is now British Somaliland.

³ i.e. Berbera: the chief port in British Somaliland almost due south of Aden and south-east of Zeila: the only really good harbour on the southern shore of the Gulf of Aden.

carried on by the Native one Sail Boats, Consequently it became a matter of much caution & difficulty to seek an Entrance.—These were the Ports wherefrom Arabia was chiefly supplied with the necessaries of Life, & to those Ports, unknown & unvisited by any Vessels larger than the Native Boats called Dowes,¹ I had to find my way into.—

I reached sight of Zeyla on the 12th September 1801. Out all Boats to sound the Entrance & to warp our Ship up the Intricate Channel, between Sand banks, by Hawsers on the stream & kedge Anchors.—The Weather was favourable, & we accomplished our work by great Exertion in little more than two days, & got within short Gun Shot of the Fort of Zeyla.—

I must here remark a very Extraordinary Phenomenon which occurred during our passage from Aden across to Zeyla. About Noon one day the Sky became suddenly darkened, even to an awful appearance, I ordered Sail to be shortened & close reef the Top Sails, and the darkness by density of Cloud increasing, ordered all Sails to be furled & lower Deck Ports barred in. A short time after all was thus made secure & snug, and expecting a violent Tornado, the Clouds opened and down came a very heavy fall of fine Sand, which continued more than half an hour, when it became necessary

¹ *Sic* MS.: i. e. dhows.

to set all hands to work to Shovel the Sand off the Decks, & hands aloft to clear the sand from the Tops, Rigging, Cross Trees &c &c—The Weather soon became clear & fine, & at this time we were twenty five miles from the nearest point of the Arabian Coast.—

And here in order to Comprehend clearly some Circumstances that occurred to me at Zeyla, I must Acquaint the Reader that the Imaun, or King of Arabia in those days, & me had come to a serious kind of quarrel.—In Manning my Ship to her increased Establishment I took many Seamen from the India Ships, who came to Mocha with Munitions of War & Stores, or any Vessels from whom I could Impress British Seamen, & among whom I got four very bad and desperate Characters, & so much did they dislike Naval Discipline that they deserted from the Ship, by dropping from a Rope over the Ship's Bows in dead of night to Swim on Shore one & half mile to the nearest point, & in which effort one was Drowned.—I was soon informed of their being seized on Shore, taken to the Grand Mosque, & after undergoing the Ceremony of Circumsition, became Musselmen.—

I wrote the Dowlah (Governor) of Mocha, demanding the Seamen to be given up, as Subjects of the King of England.—His reply was, 'That he did not possess the power to Comply with my

demand.'—The Governors in Arabia on the Seaboard, & elsewhere under the Imaun of Seenar¹ at the time I write of, were all African Slaves, & who on the least deviation from Orders lost their heads, which was directly sent to Senaar, the City of the Monarch.—

I now wrote to the Imaun, Demanding the British Seamen, & said, If my demand was not complied with, I would level his City of Mocha with the Sands surrounding it.—In due Season I received His reply, which ran thus: 'Great Man, thou Brother of the Sun, Cousin of the Moon, & enlightened by the Stars, & for whom we have great respect, we have read your Letter in full Durbar (Council), & we are of opinion you are too Sensible a Man to put your threat in Execution.'—

I now determined to attack the Forts, & the City after their destruction, & gave the necessary Orders to the Griffin & Wasp, of the Bombay Marine, & sent on shore to the East India Company's Agent to let him know my resolve to attack the Forts & City.—In a short time the Company's Agent came on board, with a document left by Admiral Blanket, who had long Commanded in those Seas, & left for the guidance of Naval Officers who might call

¹ i.e. Seenar or Sana, a town some 75 miles from the coast, in longitude 44°.15' and latitude 15°.15', approximately east of Massowah.

here, Stating that all possible precaution must be taken not to Offend the Government of Arabia, as so much depended on a good & Friendly intercourse between her & great Britain in the present very precarious circumstances of the Times.—

I was hereby staggered in my proceedings, aware of the great responsibility of the measure I had now Contemplated, & knowing that Admiral Blanket bore the name of a great Diplomatist, I felt obliged to yield to what I termed an Insult to our Nation.—

I wrote the Dowlah, who had witnessed our preparations for assault, that I should not at present by Force of Arms prosecute my claim of the British Seamen, but would reserve it for a future opportunity.—

I had frequent intercourse with the Saids, or great Men of the City, who held the Despotic power of the Immaun in great Disgust & Discomfiture.—I frequently joined them by Invitation in the Evenings, took Coffee & smoked the Hooka. They told me the Imaun was desperately exasperated against me, & that I must be always on the look out, & keep clear of the Dowlah, by whom they & Mocha were Governed.—

Among other Friends was particularly the Prince of Aden, an Independant Sovereign, & who often visited the Saids at Mocha, & Me on board my Ship, & to whom I always paid Sovereign respect, & in

this state I left things & matters when I sailed for Aden & Zeyla, & now return to my Narrative of Events at Zeyla.—

As soon as I got my Ship safe Moored, & all in due Order, I left my Ship in the Barge to wait on the Governor.—I found this Man most kind & Civil, & was received by him by all the means of respect his limited Establishment could admit.—He introduced his two Sons, very fine Boys, to whom I presented a Watch, Spy Glass, & Trinkets. Such being Supplied me by the Company's Agent for such purposes.—This Governor was an Arabian of the Sahid Cast, & not a Slave as are those in Arabia, though this Port belongs to the Imaun of Arabia.—

I now Informed the Governor of the cause of my Mission to this Port, & that I should require direct Supplies for the Ships, & requested him to collect such responsible Merchants & others as he could, to meet me the next day at that hour, in order to arrange with them the Subject of Supply I had before stated to him.—This same Evening on my arrival on board I found the Ships were fully Supplied with Fresh Beef, Vegetables, &c—

On the next day I took the Purser of my Ship & other Officers, with the Commander of the Griffin, & proceeded on Shore to meet the Merchants at the Governor's, where I found them all collected,

and as the Purser had made all his Calculations of the extent of Supply if necessarily demanded, our business was soon accomplished, Which was to supply & expedite Beef, Mutton & Bread stuff for Thirty Thousand Men, when demanded, Beef & Mutton at one penny English, & Wheat proportionably cheap. The Merchants then remarked that they could Supply double the quantity if required.—

Having received the Governor's Invitation to Breakfast with him at 10 next Morning, I returned to my Ship, & was with the Master of the Ship continually Employed from Sunrise, Sounding & Surveying the Harbour, & on next Morning we were off in the Boats at Sunrise, Taking Angles with my Sextant, & every means to enable me to make a correct Chart of this Port, in which no Ship had ever before been.—Being on the outside of the Harbour about 7 A.M., I was startled by a heavy Land wind, which prevented our return, & we were blown so far off the Port, that it was Noon before we got the Sea Breeze, & 2 P.M. before I could reach my Ship.—Being very much fatigued, I had Breakfast on board, & at 3 P.M. landed to wait on the Governor.—I was received on Landing with the former body of Guards with their Music, & Tom Toms (a kind of Drum), & when I reached the Governor's House I found all in utter Dismay.—I was met by the Servants, & the two Boys,

Sons of the Governor, all in tears & Lament, When a Moor, a Merchant, who resided in the Fort, came up & told my Interpreter, who always accompanied me, That the Imaun of Seenar, Jealous of my Entry to Zeyla, & of the kindness the Governor had shewn me, had sent an Emmissary who had artfully Poisonsd the Breakfast intended for me & the Governor, & had directly made his Escape, even before the Governor was taken ill, & before I left the House he Died, literally bursting.—I remarked to the Moor Merchant that the Imaun could not know that I was to Breakfast there, when the Man replied, that the Emmissary of destruction had arrivd at Zeyla two days after I left Mocha, & from that place, where much of the unmitigated Hatred of the Imaun had been repeated, & whose Agent this Poisoning Assassin truly was.—And this same Man concluded by saying, Sahib, take care of yourself, this Poisoning Man will wait his Opportunity.—

Grateful for my Escape from this Engine of Destruction, I returned to my Ship, & having Completed my Mission for Supply & Survey of the Harbour (now lodged at the Hydrographical Office), took the Land Breeze next Morning & left this Port, & reached Mocha on the 26th September.—I had much arrangements to make respecting the Transport Service &c.—I had frequent intercourse with the Saids, or great people of Mocha,

who most strongly deprecated the conduct of the Imaun in causing the Dowlah or Governor of Zeyla to be Poison'd, & Wondered how I had escaped.—But Tyrannical Acts of the then Government of Arabia were matter of common practice.—

I soon had my Ship ready for my trip to the Port of Barbora, taking the Wasp Schooner in addition, being one of the Bombay Marine.—The day before I intended Sailing the Prince of Aden¹ paid me a Visit, to explain to me his Sad tale of distress. The Imaun, he Said, had Bribed or persuaded the Arab Tribes of the great Desert between Mocha & Senaar to Attack his Independant Territory of Aden, assuring me the said Arab Tribes had collected & were probably now Marched, & that without my help he must be destroyed.—He said he considered the Imaun's anger to have originated in the attentions he had paid to me, & the good will I had manifested for him on all occasions.—I was quite aware from many circumstances, as well as the Assurance of the Saids, that the Imaun's numerous Spies, conveyed every word, & in a very exaggerated form, spoken by all persons, to Him.—I soon formed my decision as to my further proceedings on this Subject, &

¹ Aden, the possession of which had been disputed since the beginning of the sixteenth century between the Portuguese, the Turks, and the local Arabs, was at this time under an Arab ruler, commonly called the Sultan of Aden.

told the Prince of Aden to proceed direct to his City, & that I would be at Aden nearly as soon as he could be.—

I directly Sailed with the small Squadron, Griffin & Wasp, & reached Aden next Evening.—The Prince had returned, & he came on board when we held a Consultation. (I was allowed Interpreters by the Indian Government.) His Army, he said, was all in readiness.—The Enemy he knew were very numerous ; but still he felt fully assured if I would help him (as his words were) He should be safe, As the Arabs were Hired & paid for their Job of Warfare, & a small Bribe & stout resistance would soon turn the Invaders in his favour.—I told the Prince, if I was to have any thing farther to do for him, I must have the Sole Command, as neither myself or any of my Men could or would submit to the Control of his Officers, so that he must quite understand that I must Command or remain Neuter.—The Prince Exclaimed & proclaimed that all should be under my Orders from himself to the lowest of his Subjects.—

This point being settled, I made my arrangements, and very early in the Morning Landed two Hundred Men & Officers, all well appointed, with two Brass eight pounders Guns, which I had formerly taken from the Enemy in Quiberoon Bay,¹

¹ Cf. ante pp. 121 ff.

on the Coast of France, & had them mounted on travelling Carriages for Shore Service when required.—

The Prince of Aden's Army readily Obeyed all Orders I gave; they were about Eight hundred strong.—I directly advanced from the Town,¹ or City near the Bay, to a point of Land or Sand Hill, where if the Enemy kept the road they must pass at a short distance, & inside which I placed our two Cannon, with plenty of Canister Shot (that is Tin Canistors to fit the Bore of the Gun, filled with Musquet Balls), And close in the Rear of them drew up our small Army. Our Information proved correct respecting the Enemys advance, as an hour after we heard our Scouts give the Alarm, & soon came on the Bedouin Arab Mob, as I cannot otherwise term it. There were a vast Host of Bedouins, Mounted, some few on Horses, Asses, Dromedaries, and Camels, & a much larger number on foot, all Armed, and many Matchlock Guns, Musquets, Spears & rude constructed Swords & Creases.—Without order or any seeming arrangement, and directly they rounded the Point the two Guns opened Fire on them.—The Invading Bedouin

¹ The town of Aden is on a peninsula at the south-east corner of Aden Bay, connected with the mainland by an isthmus not much over three-quarters of a mile wide and nearly covered by the sea at high tide.

Army never perhaps saw a piece of Cannon outside their Ports on the Coast before in the Land of Arabia, and the effect to them was perfectly astounding.—They still advanced to within Musquet Shot of our comparatively small party, & from whom they received so cool & well directed a Volley that it really decided the Fate of the day.—The Bedouins suffered great loss and were thrown into the greatest possible confusion, the two Brass Cannon plying them well, & in a few Minutes after made off, doubly confused.—We followed but a short distance, as I deemed it prudent to hold our ground & not risk an advance.—

The Prince sent his Arabs to hold a Parley with the Enemy, whose Mercenary character he knew, & His Men soon returned with some of the Attacking party, who made a prompt declaration of Peace, & that they would not again be persuaded to Invade the Aden Territory.—I & the Prince fully relied on the declaration of the Bedouins, & thus in a few Hours all intentions of War or Strife ceased.—The Bedouin Army suffered much from the Fire they encountered, but we had no casualties. I know from experience that the word of a Bedouin Arab is as much to be relied on as that of any people I have met with in my extensive knowledge of the World.—

It is a saying in India when a Native is well

Cloth'd, that he is like an Arab Chief, ' All his riches on his Back', & on this War occasion, the Prince of Aden was well clothed.—He had ordered one of his Servants to his House, not far off, & on his return this Arab Prince stripped himself of his War Garment, put on his every day Clothes, and presented me with his fine dress, worn only during this short contest, as being, he said, the greatest Compliment he had the means of paying me.—Many fine Speeches were conveyed to me through the Interpreter.—I accepted all, as I supposed all was sincerely meant & true, & we separated Sworn Friends.—

The Dress, with its handsome broad Crease (or dagger), I subsequently presented to my amiable & very Dear first Cousin, M^{rs} Lewis Hampton of Henllys, Beaumarris, Who had built a Room at the Gate Lodge for the deposit of Curiosities, & where perhaps it remains at this day.—

We were all soon Embarked again, having made the good Prince happy by our short day's exertion.—On the following Morning we were all ready to start on our Expedition to Barbora, & getting under weigh, with a fair Wind & short passage, we anchored off that Harbour on the 3rd of October.—

Early on the 4th out all Boats, Two of which were Armed, and two of which sounding, & taking Angles for the Survey of the Port, No Ship having

ever been in or at this Port before.—I went on Shore in my Barge, but found it too shallow water at the head of the Harbour to Land from her.—I got into my smallest Boat, the Jolly Boat, in which its Crew, by getting into the water, hauled her over the Shoal to the Beach, so that I could Land dry.—There were two or three Turbaned Blacks strolling on the Beach, from which I had concluded all was safe.—On Landing I met a Moor Merchant from Bombay, who spoke a little English, & as I spoke a little of the Moor Language, we made each other understood.—The Moor explained that no People resided here, except in the N.E. Monsoon or Trading Season,¹ & that the great number of stragling Huts I saw, formed of Bamboo & sedge Grass, were all brought here on Camels from up the Country, with what articles of Commerce they could collect, Which was chiefly Wheat or Eatables.—I explained to him the object of my Visit, & walked on towards the Huts, where I soon perceived a Crowd of several Hundred Men, & heard an extraordinary Noise.—

The Moor directly laid hold of my Arm & exclaimed, ‘ All Man kill you, Go, Go, Boat.’ I set off direct for the Boat, to where I Landed, & found that the Tide here is small & of little rise or fall,

¹ The present population of Berbera is rather over 30,000, of whom all but about one-sixth retire to the hills inland during the summer, the trading season only lasting from November to April.

yet that it had Ebbed, & my Boat a considerable way off to keep her afloat.—My armed Boats were at a much greater distance. The Natives were closing fast, & I felt my situation rather awkward, when at this moment of Extremity a Catamaran paddled by one Man most Providentially came to the Beach as I reached it, and the force with which I sprang on the Catamaran took it off the Beach, & though the Man was active with his Paddle, yet the foremost of the Savages threw a Spear at me which just grazed my Hat, & stuck with such force in the Catamaran, that I seized it by the Shaft, & by this means alone was enabled to steady myself thereon until I reached the Boat.—

All my boats were soon around me, & considering I had only Thirty Men Armed to contend with an unknown numerous Host of Savages, I deemd it prudent to return to the Ship & from thence return with sufficient Force & sound argument.—Shortly after, & while we were arranging our party to reland, on board came the aforesaid Moor Merchant, expressing great concern for what had occurred, That he came to speak for the Chiefs of the Native Tribes, who begged of me to be Friends with them.—That the Big Ships frightend them, that they had now heard of King George, & would always treat his people well, & asked leave to be permitted to make a Peace present, & make

good Friends for Ever.—I believed all this, & sent the Peace Herald on shore in good humour.—The Purser of my Ship, who possessed the readiest acquirement of Languages to be imagin'd, now came forward & asked my permission to go on shore with this Moor Merchant, without Arms or Armed Boats, feeling assured, as he said, that my Mission by such means would be better achieved.—I now saw matters in much the same light, & I sent them both on Shore in my Barge, but well Armed, & had all the Boats manned & armed ready for a start if appearances warranted the interference. Our Spy Glasses on board were directed to the spot of Landing, & only Six persons came down to meet the Barge; all seemed perfect Harmony, & very soon the Barge came off to the Ship with a Pencil Note from Mr. Lanyon, the Purser, to say all was arranged in Peace & good understanding, That the Chiefs of the Tribes were sorry for what had happened, & were ready to make any reparation I would suggest.—Seeing all was in course of amicable arrangement I again Landed, taking the Boats Armed in my train; I met the Six Chiefs & some others who had now joined them, & who now knowing who & what I was, paid me the greatest possible respect.—They entered fully into my views & wishes respecting the Supplies for the Army if it should become necessary, and requested

I would accept as a present Bullocks, Sheep, Rice or wheat for the Ship's Crew.—All of which as a Peace offering I accepted.—

Having truly detailed thus far my Recontre with those uncivilised beings, surely I am authorised to declare that the ways of a Merciful Providence are past the ways of our finite means of finding out. I am truly enabled to exclaim it, were it only in those two Instances of my Miraculous Escape from Poison & Assassination,—In this my hair's breadth escape from the Spears of the Host of Savages it proved that the very Man who came to the Shore in his Catamaran, & on which I so Miraculously escaped, was from Mocha, who during the S.W. Monsoon resided there & followed the occupation of Fisherman, & who constantly & well supplied our Ship, by which he had comparatively become a Man of Wealth, & in the N.E. Monsoon was always Employed between Arabia & the African Trading Ports.—His astonishment at my rescue & his Gratification at being the Agent of such was unbounded.—

I must here remark on the superior Personal appearance of the Tribes of African Natives here at this time. I am sure, as a body of Men, I never saw any equal to them. I believe I calculated correctly when I say, I saw full Five Hundred of them in a Group, Elegantly formed with aquilan¹ Noses,

¹ *Sic* MS. : i. e. aquiline.

instead of flat ones so peculiar to Africa, thin lips instead of thick prominent ones, & though the head was covered with Wool, instead of Hair, as all Africans are, yet was well set off with polished bones, or Porcupine quills. And out of this large Group, which I carefully looked among, I could not suppose any one Man under Six feet in height, & many very much taller.¹

Having now satisfactorily arranged my business with the Natives, & obtained Angles & soundings of this small but compact Harbour, so as to enable me to form my Chart of it, all safe on board with good Supplies &c, I sailed on the 8th October for Mocha, where the Supply for the Army in Egypt depended much on my presence as Senior Officer.—I was here called on to some Sacred & to me new Duties, the Ceremony of Marriage, Christening, & Churching of Women, & I was Solicited to administer the Sacrament, which I resisted, being not & feeling not authorised to perform.—

It was the middle of October when we arrived here, just as the S.W. Monsoon sets in.—On entering the Straits of Babelmandel at day light discovered three Sail of strange Ships, nearing us fast ; Cleared

¹ The Somalis claim to be of Arab descent, but were originally part of the old Hamitic stock to which the ancient Egyptians and also probably the Berbers of North-West Africa belonged. This stock has of course been much modified by intermixture with the Arabs, and also with the negroid races of the South.

Ship for Action in a hurry, & threw overboard all the Cabbins & bed places placed in the Ship for the accomodation of Troops, & now made the necessary Signals to the Ship & Schooner under my Orders, & on hauling the Ship up for the strangers, they proved to be Friends from India, who reported the probability of a French Squadron entering those Seas during the absence of Sir Home Popham.—

I found very much to arrange in Dispatch to & Supply of our Army at Grand Cairo, & as the French had now evacuated Grand Cairo & Egypt on every side, the Sole source of Supplies of our Army was from hence.—I had also to Examine the Log Books, or Journals of all ships wrecked on this Service, & receive the Protests of their Commanders, or their Insurance would be forfeited.—We had lost seventeen sail of Transport Ships from India on this Service or Expedition, also the *Forte* of Forty Guns,¹ & *Sensible* of Thirty six Guns.²—The detail of some of the Transport Ships of their Sufferings were awful, & far too voluminous for my Narrative.—

Mocha Roads is not a pleasant Anchorage in the S.W. Monsoon, there being much swell of the Sea, & I had a long period of such to look forward to.—I had much Intercourse with my Friend the Prince

¹ The *Forte*, which was a 44 gun ship, not a 40, was wrecked off Jidda in June 1801, the crew being saved.

² Cf. p. 164.

of Aden & the Saids of Mocha, & I had frequent Visits of Ceremony with the Dowlah, or Governor, and had a Bed room at the Company's¹ Agent's House, which I at times made use of.—On one of these occasions I was awoke in the night by a violent tremulous motion of my Bed, & my first impression was that some person was under it.—I caught my Sword & made many thrusts under it, & in doing which I found the Doors making a Jarring noise, & the Floor in the same motion as that of the Bed.—This startled me more than Robbers or Assassins. I got my Clothes on quick, & being one story only from the Ground Floor, I was soon among a Party there who said it was so common to experience this kind of Earthquake, that through form only they got outside their Houses on such occasions.—With this assurance I returned to my Bed, & was told next day that they have such Earthquakes here for weeks together, & thus it is the Houses are all Built low & thick Walls.—

It was dull work at Anchor in Mocha ; generally heavy Winds, frequently sighting our Anchors to examine the Cables, striking Masts in the Gales, & Swaying them up when moderate Weather.—

January 1802 found me making due arrangements for the return of the Indian Army from Egypt.—In

¹ The East India Company established a factory at Mocha in 1618.

this Month the fury of the S.W. Monsoon being over here, I took the Griffin & Wasp with my Ship & visited that part of the Coast of Africa known as Abyssinia.—It was but a short trip from Mocha. I ran along the Coast about thirty miles, & anchored on the Northern extent I had reached. I was soon visited by the Natives, but no Harbour for Shelter on this part of the Coast.—I was much astonished at the different appearance of the Natives here, being as totally opposite as possible to Imagine from any African I had before seen.—They are a strong Athletic People with long black Curly hair, & are of the Christian Religion, though far degenerated from its Purity, and from what we found, Honest & Honorable in their dealings.—They never intermarry with the Woolly headed Africans, & hold but slight Commercial Intercourse. They hold their Independence as a Nation against all African assailants, by whom they are surrounded, & to say the least are a most Extraordinary race of People.—

I was much struck with the Sheep we purchased here for the use of the Ships Company, they have long Curly Wool, similar to the long Curly hair of the race of Men here Congregated under the Christian Faith.—All other Sheep in Africa have close short hair, like the common Goats in our Country.—

History will better describe them as a Nation than I can, & surely their peculiar state of Independence, Religion, Manners & customs, is well worth the attention of the Historian.¹—

Before we left our Anchorage a fine Abyssinian Lad came on board, whom we could not induce again to leave the Ship, & my good Friend the Mocha Fisherman whom I brought with me for this short Cruise, & who spoke their language to be understood, explained that this Lad came on board on purpose to remain & become one of the Crew.—I was pleased with his fine countenance, & retained him as one of my Servants.—He was quick in attaining our Language, & happy to do as he was directed.—

However out of the way, I must here mention an Anecdote of this Abyssinian Lad after our Arrival at Bombay. About four O'clock one Evening I was dressing to pay what is called morning Visits, & was in the act of using my Tooth brush when he came into my room, & out again.—After I had left my House a Gentleman called on me, & asked if I dined at Home that day, the Abyssinian replied, ‘I tink Massa no dine here, I see um Sharpen um Toot when he go out.’—This was my friend’s detail to me.—

I returned again this Month to Mocha, to await the arrival of Sir Home Popham from Calcutta in

¹ Abyssinia was at this time under Asfa Nassan of Shoa, a vigorous and successful ruler whose reign extended from 1774 to 1807.

the Romney, with the Sensible, both ships having undergone great repairs at that Presidency.—

I had now forwarded on the Transports for the return of the Indian Army from Suez, & on the 12th February Sir Home arrived in the Romney. The Sensible Frigate, Captain Sauce, after having undergone a very expensive repair at Calcutta, & being full Manned & equipped as a Thirty Six Gun Frigate, on her return to the Red Sea, & on her rounding the Island of Ceylon, by a sad Bungle in the Ship's reckoning, she was run on Shore on Point de Galle, & was totally wreckd with many of her Crew lost.¹—I had a serious loss by her Wreck, as I had ordered private Stores for my Cabin use, all of which I lost.—

On the 15th the Romney and part of the Squadron unmoored. It came on to Blow hard, the Romney parted her Cable, & was driven to Sea, leaving her Launch, which was on Shore on duty. I would not venture to heave up our Anchor as it blew so hard, but we took the Romneys' Launch & Crew on board, that Ship being soon blown out of sight, & the next day being Moderate Up Anchor & proceeded for Suez.—

We had, as is always the case up the Red Sea in Sailing Ships (Steam not known in those days), a

¹ According to James (iii. 485) this was on March 2, 1802; Laird Clowes (iv. 555) adds the crew were saved.

very tedious passage.—Between Mocha & Suez is about seventeen Degrees of Latitude, & the course up is nearly North.—But this Sea is perhaps the best & quietest for steam Navigation in the World for its distance, & the most tedious for sailing Ships upwards.—We made Mount Sinai on the Arabian Shore, & the Island of Jubal¹ on the African Shore on the 20th of March, where we were kept by very heavy Northerly Gales off Ras Mahomet² some days & nights, with short drift clear of Rocks, & narrow channel.—Myself & Crew were much fatigued and Jaded.—We now got at midnight a Slant of Southerly Wind, & having as usual at the last Sunset taken careful bearings of all points of Land, & the Straits of Jubal being fairly discovered, I determined at all risks to take advantage of it, & having shaped our Course, made a dash through this very dangerous Night Navigable passage, & under Providence found ourselves at day light in the Morning clear up, in what is called the Sea of Suez.—

It is worthy of remark, that in the Red Sea the water is so perfectly clear, that at the depth of fifteen Fathoms you can see the bottom very clearly, & the Atmosphere here so clear, that you can make out all objects at more than double the distance you can in any part of Europe.—

¹ The straits between Sinai and the opposite coast are known as the Straits of Jubal.

² The promontory at the southern end of the Sinai Peninsula.

On the 27th March we Anchored in Suez Harbour, I found here the Romney, Commodore Sir Home Popham, Wilhelmina, Captain Lind, & Victor Sloop of War, Captain Collier, with a very large Fleet of Transports, ready to Embark the Indian Army.—As soon as our refit was completed I went down the Sea of Suez in one of our small Cruisers to Visit Mount Sinai, & the Well of Water spring from that Rock which was Struck by Moses for the relief of the thirst of the Israelites.—It certainly is very superior Water, & reminded me much of that produc'd from St. Annes Well at Great Malvern.—I did not ascend far up Mount Sinai, & was content with strolling on its Base.—Close to the Rock from which Moses produc'd the Water is now a small Village named Tor, where many Priests of the Impostor Mahomet reside, & being white washed looks Picturesque from the Sea.—I again returned to my Ship sooner than I wished in order to proceed with Sir Home Popham on a Diplomatic Mission to Grand Cairo, & was soon after my return quite ready for my Journeying across the Desert.—We had half a Troop of Jannasaries¹ of those days sent by the Grand Bashaw of Egypt as our Guides, & in addition to which Force we had Sir Home's & my Barge's Crews, which amounted to Twenty Six Noble Seamen, & Ten Marines from each Ship,

¹ *Sic* MS.

with ten Men of the 12th light Dragoons, we had brought on from the Cape of Good Hope¹ & well Mounted. Captain Collier of the Victor, my first Lieutenant & Marine Officer, & several Masters of Transports formed our Group, all well armed. The Seamen Mounted on Camels, the Marines on Dromadaries, & the whole party of Officers on good Horses, with about two Hundred Camels to carry water, Provisions, Tents &c.—

All being arranged, off we set in high Glee & good Spirits on this Novel Excursion. Our Caravan was considered small to cross the Desert, as it had always been & was for many Years after in possession of the Bedouin Arabs, by whom we were constantly annoyed by their continued hovering around us.— On one occasion a Bedouin got among our Camels, & had got one on which he Mounted & at some distance before the alarm was given, when directly off set one of the Dragoons (half of which were always Saddled to meet exigencies). I was Eyewitness of the Chace, when on nearing the Camel

¹ This seems inaccurate, as the 12th Light Dragoons (now 12th Lancers) were in Portugal from 1797 to 1800, then took part in Abercromby's expedition to Egypt, being present in the battles near Alexandria and in the move up to Cairo. On the other hand, the 8th Light Dragoons (now 8th Hussars) served at the reduction of the Cape in 1796, and a detachment of this regiment accompanied Popham to Egypt, and it is probable that Carden's memory has played him false and caused him to confuse the two regiments.

the Dragoon at full Gallop let fly his Carbine & brought the Bedouin dead off his Perch. I think it one of the best Shots I ever witnessed.—The Bedouins had Flags on Staffs all along on the Sand Hills during our Journey across the Desert between which the Road to Cairo was, & still must be, & from which Sand Hills the Bedouins communicated the strength & progress of each Caravan, on whom they continually committed Plunder & Massacre.—

On another occasion, a Bedouin Chief approached near to reconnoitre our Caravan, when our Dragoons being as usual on the Alert, set off at full speed, cut him off in his retreat, & brought him into our Camp. The Officer of the Jannasaries with us drew his Sabre to decapitate the Prisoner, to whom he said on no occasion did they ever give quarter, but I interfered (being my turn to Command on that day) and through the Interpreter informed the Jannasarie that we never took the Life of our Prisoners, which astonished him much.—

On the fourth day after leaving Suez we got within two or three miles of Grand Cairo, & this Morning liberated our Prisoner, who faithfully promised to repay our kindness should any English Travellers fall in his way on the Desert.—

We were now advised by a Courier that we should find refreshments before we entered the City, & we did so find a splendid Tent erected, with Fruits,

Sherbet and Hookas, (a Smoking apparatus) & rose Water, with due attendants, & a Superior Officer from the Grand Bashaw's Palace.—Having partaken of the good things, we did not long remain here & Entered the City of Grand Cairo in the Evening.—I was located at the British Consul's, the Commodore at the head Quarters of Lord Hutchinson,¹ & the rest in various ways.—I generally dined at head Quarters, & from General Baird received much attention, with the assurance that my Health was drank with grateful feelings & in good Wine, which they could not have had had not my timely aid rendered it available to them.—The case was thus, on Entering the Sea of Suez I observed a Wreck with her Masts standing, I sent a Boat on board, who reported the Ship being abandoned by the Crew, & that on opening the Main Hatchway a number of Cases of Wine directed for General Baird & the Mess of the 61st Regiment was uppermost, & in such sized cases as would load a Camel one on each side. I directly out Boats & got all on board, & sent them by the next Caravan to Cairo as directed, which all got safe, to

¹ The Hon. John Hely-Hutchinson (1757–1832), Commander-in-Chief in Egypt 1801, created Baron Hutchinson 1801, succeeded to the Earldom of Donoughmore 1825 as second Earl. He had succeeded to the command in Egypt on the fall of Abercromby, and though not very popular or much respected in the army, seems to have conducted the remainder of the campaign quite effectively; cf. Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, vol. iv, chaps. xviii and xxix, especially pp. 849, 850.

the great comfort of the party.—All the Officers of the 61st were unbounded in attention, the Colonel (Carruthers) & others of which Regiment came with and at my Table from England to the Cape of Good Hope, from whence we took the whole Regiment¹ in our Squadron to Kossire in Upper Egypt.—

After the usual Etiquette had been gone through, our Cavalcade was arranged to pay our respects to the Grand Bashaw of Egypt.—Sir Home Popham knew well how to order & direct this point of Diplomacy, for such was the object of our crossing the Desert.—We were received with great form, & every mark of respect was paid us (our Brilliant Army now in occupation may say much as to why & wherefore). A Salute of Twenty one Guns announced our Entrance to the Palace, & the Jannasaries lined the Road.—Being next Senior Officer to the Commodore, I was seated on the left hand of the Bashaw.—The apartments were spacious and splendidly Furnished in the Oriental style. No Chairs, but richly covered Ottamans.—The Bashaw, from a richly ornamented Vessel, something in the shape of a Bottle, & perforated mouth like a watering pot, sprinkled us over with Rose water, Sherbet & Coffee was handed round, & after that the Hooka.—I was surprised & Indignant to find the Bashaw

¹ Part of the regiment only ; cf. p. 131, note.

rise, & turning round exclaim, rubbing his hand over my Face, I never saw so smooth faced a Man before.—I looked at the Commodore for what notice I should take of this freak, when he said to me smiling, ‘ You must not be angry, but put up with the Caress.’—And as the Bashaw took his Seat, I did so.—Having gone through the arrangement & Minutia of this Diplomatic conference, we prepared to depart.—When we got to the door by which we entered, we found Three elegantly Caparisoned Horses, One for Sir Home, one for me, & one for Captain Collier, & before we Mounted an Elegant Sword of Damascus Manufacture was presented to each of us. (This Sword I presented to my first Cousin, John Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court.) After Sir Home Popham was Mounted, I got on my Arab Steed, a dark Iron Grey, and then it seemed as docile as can be imagined.—As soon as Captain Collier was on his Arab, & outside the Palace Gate, a second Salute of Twenty one Guns commenced, & to my utter dismay (not being an expert Horseman) my Arab began to jump sideways, right on end, & in various ways, at the discharge of every Gun. Not being used to this kind of motion, I considered what was to be done, for surely I could not long keep my Seat. When it struck me I had better have recourse to a large piece of Water close to the Palace, feeling I should have a better chance

on my accustomed Element than on the hard Stones by which the Road was bounded, I directly clapped the Shovels (the Arab Stirrup Iron, the form of a Shovel, in which the whole foot rests, with a sharp corner on the inner hind part acts as their Spur) into my Arab & went slap into the Water, & thus kept the Horse above the Girths until the Salute was finished, when I rode him out perfectly quiet, this freak caused very great amusement to a large assemblage of Natives & others who witnessed it.—

I rode my Arab every day, & a more Docile good temperd Beast could not be found.—I now formed a party with my first Lieutenant & others, Crossed the arm of the Nile at Gheza,¹ & visited the Pyramids of Egypt, those stupendous Mountains of Masonery Built at a time of which we have no true record, & by present appearance will last until Time shall be no more.—On every side from near the Base the Grand Pyramid seems to be Surmounted by a Spire, But to my surprise when I reached its Summit after awful exertions, I found a flat space, where Hundreds of Soldiers might be drawn up in open Order.²—I had ascended by help of Arabs, who gain a livelihood by conveying Visitors up & down this awful Journey, sometimes inside, & at others outside on deep broken steps, making the head

¹ Gizeh.

² A slight exaggeration.

dizzy to look down, & apparently no end to look upwards. However, we did gain the Summit, & were fully repaid for all our efforts.—

Now on the Summit of this Stupendous Building, which is perhaps the largest mass of Masonry in the World, We had a Splendid View of the Waters of the Noble Nile, & within it its beautiful studded Islands, richly coverd with the most Luxuriant Foliage, & Ornamented with many fine Oriental Mansions, with the Mountains of Syria in the Distance.—At this time the waters of the Nile were at their lowest Ebb, & surely it must appear when at its full with greater Magnificence.—But turning our Eyes in the opposite direction, nothing but a boundless Desert covered four fifths of the Horizon, & the immense Sea of Sand, as it may be termed, was only here & there broken by Hills of Barren Rock half covered by sand.—The Minor Pyramids were close underneath our view, & the City of Grand Cairo, looking like a Village.—I had two necessary appendages in Company, Viz. My Spy Glass & some good Wine of European Vintage with Biscuits, & after having feasted our Eyes, & refreshed the Body, commenced the descent of this Indescribable Pile of Building.—We soon found it required more Nerve & ability to descend than Ascend, but the Arabs were cautious & very attentive, & I felt as delighted to get safe down

as I had done to gain the Summit. And I am quite sure none can perform this Journey up & down the Grand Pyramid but those who possess much Nerve & agility.—History will better describe, & speak more forcibly of those Stupendous Buildings, than I am capable of doing, & to which I refer the Reader.—After resting awhile I again Mounted my Arab Steed, & late in Evening found myself at my Quarters in Grand Cairo.—

I dined generally among the Army, very often with General Baird.—The English Army all moving off to Alexandria for Embarkation, which Army were always Encamped outside the City from the time of its evacuation by the French, & at this period the Plague raged with much Virulence, as the Nile was at its lowest Ebb, & which was accounted for by the French while in possession of this City having prohibited the use of Fire Arms, or possession of them by the Citizens, & in consequence the Cats, which they had always been in the habit of shooting, had increased to a vast extent, & they lying in the Beds of infected Houses, & on the Clothes of those who had Died of the Plague, & which were always thrown on the flat Roofs of the Houses to putrify in the Sun, were said thus to carry the Infection from House to House.—I certainly Shot a great number in the Consul's Garden by way of Amusement. Few comparatively

of the Troops or Europeans became Victims to this dread Scourge.—

I omitted to mention that we had the Plague at Suez before our departure to cross the Desert.—My Clerk having been sent on duty on Shore with the Jolly Boat, the Crew, four Men, were strolling about the Town, discovered a shut up House, & through a broken window saw a quantity of Wood. They got into & examined it, & reported to my Clerk what they had seen, & who on coming on board reported such to the Purser, who provides fuel for the Ship's use, the Prize he had discovered.—As soon as it was reported to me I felt strong suspicion as to the result, which was confirmed by the enquiry I directed to be made on Shore, which proved that said House had been shut up, being a Bakers Shop, the inmates having all died of the Plague.—The Surgeon kept a look out on the party, & in four days those four Men of the Boat's Crew shewed symptoms of infection, by glandular swellings.—When I Immediately ordered them on Shore under a Tent, Hired Arabs to attend on them, with all necessary Supplies & Medicine duly administered, but they all fell Victims to the horrid disease, & fortunately it spread no further in the Ship, & my Clerk escaped infection.—

It was intimated to me by Sir Home Popham to pay a Visit of Ceremony to the Governor of the Citadel, & which place I had a wish to Visit.—Off

I set with my first Lieutenant, & having given the previous Information to the Governor, all was arranged with due etiquette.—I was in the habit of constant attention to my beautiful Arab Steed, & we seemed to know each other well, & on him I arrived at the foot of a long flight of steps, leading up to the Citadel, & left my Horse with the Keeper, but before I could reach the summit, hearing a great noise behind me, I looked round, & saw my Arab Steed following quicker than I liked; we both reached the Summit of the Citadel at the same time, & I gave him in charge to two Men there, Or I am sure he soon would have been in the Governor's State appartments after me.—I was received with a Salute of seventeen Guns, & with much flattering attentions. On being seated on a rich Ottaman in his State appartments, was served with Coffee, Sherbet, & Pipes, the usual ablution of Rose water, &c &c— On retiring I felt anxious about how my Horse was to be got down, when the Governor ordered the Shoes to be taken off his Fore feet (they never shoe behind), & he was led down this long flight of Seventy Steps, as gentle & safe as can be possibly imagined.—The Governor made many kind assurances, and presented me with a handsome Sabre, & as soon as my Horse was known to be at the bottom of the Steps another Salute of 17 Guns honoured my departure.—

I had a perfect View of the City from the Summit

of the Citadel, but to the reflecting mind was a sad sight to behold. The once Grand Residence of Proud & VainGlorious & then unrivalled Kings of Egypt now in a state of utter Ruin, Houses tumbled inwards, & nearly all delapidated ;—But the Noble Nile in all its Glory, & its beautiful Studded Islands, in all the Splendour of Original days.—I had leave of the Governor to Visit the Well of Joseph, from which the Citadel is supplied with Water, & which I the next day accomplished.—I was met on the Summit by the Governor's Men as Guides on this Excursion, & did descend with them, Three hundred & Sixty five steps, to get to the waters edge.—There was many large Caverns cut in the solid Rock, all on the right hand side going down, which contain a number of Bullocks for the purpose of working a Machinery of Wheels, & which act upon an immense Vertical Wheel on the circumference of which are secured buckets, those in the lower Cavern uplift the water to the first reservoir, in which as the wheel goes round the Buckets are emptied, & thus by the same routine of Machinery the water is lifted to the Surface of the Citadel.—Perhaps under the comparatively good Government of Mahomed Ali ¹ & his Successors, & the European

¹ i.e. Mehemet Ali (1769–1849), the celebrated ruler of Egypt, who became Pasha in 1805. For his career see the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. x, chap. xvii.

Wonders by Steam, the water now may be more judiciously obtained, and most probably by the improved Commerce & Communication with Europe & India the City is reorganised & recovered from its Desolation of 1802.—For at this said time no language can describe the truly miserable state of the lower orders of the Inhabitants of Egypt, Successive contending Armies of Europeans Invading their Soil, in addition to the most Oppressive mode of Government on this Earth.—The Sultan at Constantinople required from his Bashaw or agents a certain amount of Tribute, but each Bashaw or Governor was not controlled by any Law to stop at any Imposition of Tax, even to the full extent of his Inordinate desire of Luxury & Wealth.—And as long as the Sultan received his calculated amount in his Treasury no enquiry was made into the Malconduct of his Bashaw or Governor, or the cause of Misery of the subjects of the Porte in Egypt.—And at the Time I write of, by the suspension of all Commerce & Labour, the Poor were more wretched than can be conceived.—No Tribute could now be collected, No Man was now able to afford relief, & the groups of Dead & dying in every corner of the City was appalling.—Opthalmia is a constant disease in the Cities & Towns bounded by the Desert, the peculiarly fine Sand of which is by every Wind blown in the Eyes, & frets &

lacerates the Philm¹ of its covering.—I have often seen large groups of Men, & Children even, supplicating Alms, having the ball of the Eye eaten out of the Socket by the Myriad of Flies that Swarmed around them, many of which suffering Creatures each day, I should hope & believe, found it the last day of suffering & Torture in this World.—

I must here close my detail of Miseries which I beheld to detail a more Cheerful description of the closing of April in this Country.—The inhabitants of Egypt now look with the most anxious desire for Inteligence from the Nile, & in Grand Cairo the feeling is Indescribable.²—The Bell Man is looked to with more Ardour than to that Saviour to whom every knee should Bow, & from whom we derive every good & perfect Gift.—At length from the Bell Man's Lungs & his tinckling Cymbal is Proclaimd the rising of the Water of the Nile, half an Inch, more or less, & then assuredly follows the fall of the dew from Heaven.—The plague directly ceases, the ailing recover, in truth it may be said 'The Lame walk, and the Lepers are cleansed.'—Such is the effect of the Dew in this once & still Devoted Land, where Rain is not known at times for three Years, though the Nile is risen by Rain

¹ *Sic* MS.: i. e. film.

² Compare the account of the Nile flood given in chapter ix of Lord Milner's *England in Egypt*.

from its far distant source, & its Banks or Vicinity alone productive, its overflowing being often productive of three Crops in its short Season.—

Sir Home Popham having now concluded his Diplomacy with the Grand Bashaw, we got every thing in readiness to return to our Ships at Suez.— The English Army had all left for Alexandria, & the Indian Army for Suez, a few necessary Troops for Garrison only remaining.¹ The Indian Army did not return by the Nile to Keenah, being against that rapid River, & the distance from Keenah to Cossire being much greater than from Cairo to Suez, & the passage down the Red Sea being always sure.— All arranged we set off, I on my Arab Steed, who if allowed would have made very short work of it.— On our leaving Suez we had supplied ourselves with Pick Axes & Shovels, & wherever we could discover among the Sand Hills the least blade of Vegetation, we sunk a few feet and always found good Water. In one place we found a good reservoir partly made by a party before us, containing one Hundred Butts, & most useful it ultimately turned out.— On our return across the Suez Desert Battalions of the Indian Army were in our Front & Rear, on return to Suez for India, consequently no Bedouin Arab to annoy us.—

¹ The last British troops evacuated Egypt in March 1803, only just before the renewal of the Anglo-French war.

We got within twenty miles of Suez on the Morning of the third day, when we fell in with the Great Caravan of Pilgrims going to Mecca.—The Host of Pilgrims, Camels, Horses, & Asses, was Immense—of Camels alone there were two Thousand.—The wretched Creatures of Pilgrims called forth my Commiseration, & they had a strong Force of Jannasaries as an Escort.—They had not yet commenced their day's March from their night Camp position, & we pitched our Camp on their right to satisfy our curiosity of this Novel Scene.—Sir Home Popham dispatched an Officer with the Interpreter to acquaint an Officer of high Rank, who commanded the Pilgrim Host, of his intention to pay a Visit of Respect, which was most kindly received, & all hasty preparation was made to give us a due reception.—As soon as we had arranged our Retinue, not very large, we set out, & soon, through a double line of Jannasaries entered the Superbly Splendid Tent of this Chief of the Pilgrim Caravan.—It was lined inside with rich wrought Silk, Ottamans covered with the same, Magnificent Turkey Carpet, & every thing in Oriental Splendour, & after the Pacha or Chief had placed us all in Comfort, Sprinkled us over with Rose water & then presented Turkish Pipes & Sherbert, Sir Home soon terminated his Routine of Compliments, at which on all occasions he was very well versed.—We

again took leave with all the attentions & Etiquette with which we had been received, & I felt highly gratified at this finish of sight seeing in Egypt.—

This Grand Caravan to Mecca passes only once in the Year; small parties may be seen frequent, but on this Grand scale it is only Annual.—

We remained in our Tents the remainder of this day, to allow the great Caravan to get clear of our small party, & I was glad to be separated from this immense throng of deluded slaves to the Impostor Mahomet.—This Caravan passes some miles North of Suez to enter Arabia.—

We struck our Tents early next Morning, & reached Suez at 4 P.M., & reached our comfortable quarters on board our respective Ships to a late but good Dinner.—Every preparation being now made for Embarking the Indian Army as they arrived, I took a Division of the Transports to a Bay we subsequently called the Wells of Moses, about five Leagues South of Suez.—I must here remark that it was at this time that the Fertile head of Sir Home Popham formed & Establish'd the Naval Telegraphic Signals,¹ ever since so lauded, and used with such perfect success in communicating every Minutia in all Fleets & Squadrons, & in doing which the Captains of our Squadron gave their Mite of assistance.—

¹ Cf. J. S. Corbett, *Fighting Instructions*, 1530–1816 (Navy Records Society), for some notice of this code, especially pp. 254, 335.

The object in going down to this Bay was to clear the thronged Anchorage at Suez.—The Morning after our Anchoring here I discovered with my Spy Glass a Herd of Antelope, though nearly a Desert Spot, & with one of my Midshipmen put off in my Barge with our Guns in hope of getting a Shot at them.—After two hours of what is termed Deer stalking found the Antelope too Wary to allow of our near Approach.—We had frequently to pass a particular point in our endeavours to get at our Game.—I was surprised at each time passing this Spot to find the Desert Partridge rise before us, and when we had given up Antelope Hunting, & came to this Point again we flushed the same party of Desert Partridges.—I now examined it very closely, & found a dampness of some extent. I made my Boats Crew remove the Sand with their hands, so as sufficiently to show that fresh water was oozing upwards, & the taste of the wet Sand insured its being so.—I Immediately sent my Boat off for Men, Shovels, Tackles, Ballast Baskets, & Spars, & to work we went. We soon got down enough to reach Masonery, round & with a Diameter of twelve feet, evidently the Surface work of a Well.—The stone was cut in perfect Shape, & laid equally Scientifically.—This gave us good Heart, & all hands worked hard to find good Water in the Wilderness.—We now rigged a Triangle over this

supposed Well, & with a Tackle on it we had hoisted up sand enough to Insure our Labour not being in vain, as water began to appear, & in a very short period after, & by a sudden & violent impulse of the spring from beneath, the two Men filling Sand in the Ballast baskets in the Well, with their Tools, were violently thrown to the Surface, & had they not been caught by those above must have inevitably sank to rise no more in this World.—The Water rose & fell alternately for more than a quarter of an hour, & then kept a steady surface as high as the Masonery of this Well, & thus gave us the gratifying information of a good & continued supply of most Excellent Water.—The Men reported having seen an aperture in the Well, going downwards, showing the Mouth of an Earthen Pipe, & I directly concluded it must have been placed to convey the Water to the Shore about five Hundred Yards Distance, on a full inclined Plane. I set all hands to trace it, which was soon accomplished, & took up a great number of Earthen Pipes, in which the Sand was strongly cemented, but otherwise they were as perfect as the day they were made, & of which there is no record, nor of that period, Except in Holy Writ.—Having constructed Tents, & got a few Marines on Shore Armed, I remained here for the night, & in the Morning early began clearing a few feet deep in diagonal lines,

in search of the remains of Houses, which I deemed must have been in the Vicinity of such fine Water, & did discover the Foundations of many Houses of large hewn Stone, having seemingly large & well constructed apartments, But my time would not admit of any further research.—I now communicated to Sir Home Popham in Suez Harbour by our new Telegraphic Signals an account of our very desirable & well timed Discovery.—

The Water at Suez is Brackish & bitter, but quite available for Camels, but for other purposes the Natives get their water from Tor, or else where, the Well I before described.¹—

The Transports as they became filled with Troops dropped down & took in their necessary supply of water from my newly discovered Well, & thus all were fully prepared for departure to the different Presidencies of India.—

Being on Shore before my departure from Suez, I saw a Man (Native of India) mourning sadly, in charge of a fine Horse on the Beach, & on enquiry found the Horse was of English Breed & origin.—The Man was left in charge of it by his Master, Captain Smith of the Bombay Artillery, who had gone on to India, & expected his Groom would be enabled to have it Embarked in one of the following Transports. But no one would receive it, & this

¹ p. 166.

faithful servant would not desert his charge, & would not obey Orders to Cut the Horse's Throat & himself Embark in the Ship ordered him. I directly gave Orders for the Man and Horse to be embarked in my Ship, to its keeper's great happiness, & as I had my own Horse presented me by the Bashaw of Grand Cairo on board, the keeper of this Horse became useful, as knowing better how to feed & attend them than the Sailors, & I had a good supply of Hay & Corn from the Horse Transports for the Voyage to India.—

As the Transports completed their proportion of Troops & their Water at this new well They Sailed for their different Ports of India.—

I had now Embark'd four Hundred Troops for Bombay, & truly great was the astonishment of many of the 48th Regiment, whom I had previously taken up the Mediteranean Expedition to Lower Egypt,¹ to find themselves Embarked in the same Ship, Officers & Crew, now at the head of the Red Sea in Upper Egypt.—Those Men of the 48th had Volunteered to serve in different Regiments in India.²—

¹ Carden is a little inaccurate here : he had only taken the 48th out to Minorca (cf. p. 127). The regiment had not moved to Egypt, the battle honour 'Egypt' borne by the Northamptonshire Regiment (48th and 58th Foot) having been won by the 2nd Battalion, then the 58th. [It is just possible that here and on p. 127 48th may be a slip for 40th, as the 48th did not serve in Egypt whereas the flank companies of the 40th did.]

² On the conclusion of peace large reductions had been made in

The Commodore having Sailed, & all but my Squadron of Transports, now completing their water at my new Well, I proceeded with them to Mocha on the 1st June 1802, Thus clearing Egypt of the remnant of our Brave & Victorious Troops.—Nothing particular occurred during our passage down the Red Sea, & we Anchored in Mocha Roads on the 11th of June.—I had much arrangement to make in getting Invalids &c of the Indian Army clear of this Port, & sending them on their different Routes; and having taken leave of my Friend the Prince of Aden, who came up here for that purpose, & all my good Friends in this City, I sailed on the 19th June, taking the Hercules & a few Transports with me for Bombay; and although it being the N.E. Monsoon, we had a rough passage, & as soon as we got out of the Gulfs of Arabia went on rapidly, & arrived in Bombay Harbour on the 3rd July, when the Ship was placed under strict Quarantine, But the Troops & Ship's Crew, being in good Health, we received Pratique on the 6th much to the comfort of all hands.—Shortly after Landing the Horses Captain Smith of the Bombay Artillery came to pay his respects, & expressed very much feeling for the kindness I had manifested in bringing his Horse & keeper from Egypt to him, & by way of the Army, regiments with two battalions being reduced to one battalion, surplus men being invited to transfer to other corps.

rubbing all obligation out of his mind, I told him I would accept his Wood Horse, a fine Penang Cane he held in his hand, if he would consider it a mutual exchange of attention. So it was arranged, & I subsequently presented the said Cane to my good Friend & first Cousin, John Surman Esq^r of Treddington Court.—

We now found that our Ship, which had proved very Leaky during our rough weather run from the Red Sea, now in Harbour made as much Leakage, so that it became necessary to take her into Dock, & for which purpose all hands were Employed with strong effort in removing all our Stores, quite Emptying the Ship, & Dismantling her, &c, &c— And when we got her into the Dry Dock we found ten feet square of Copper off her Bows, close down to the Garboard Streak,¹ & the Barnacles, or what we call borers, had so perforated the Plank, that it had all the appearance of Honey Comb, on a large Scale, & surely, had we had to keep the Sea much longer, Nor would any Creature of us have been found to tell the Tale of our Destruction.—I was at this time Senior Officer in this Port, & did push hard to get the Ship into Dock, & by great & unceasing exertion got her repaired & out of Dock on the 10th of October.—

¹ i. e. the first range of planks laid on a ship's bottom next the keel.

The Romney with Sir Home Popham arrived here on the 22nd of September, & went into Dock as soon as my Ship came out, & we now all laboured hard to get our Ship Masted & Rigged & Stored ready for Sea.—

On the 10th November 1802 heard officially of Peace in Europe, & by Admiralty Order, just now received, Read the thanks of both Houses of Parliament to the Captain, Officers, & Crew, for their Gallant Conduct & Services during the War now terminated.—

On the 10th of January 1803, being completed in all our Equipments, was ordered by the Commander in Chief to proceed to Sea & Navigate the Coast of Malabar with a strict look out for the Hobart Sloop of War, supposed to be in great distress, & we proceeded accordingly.—On the 10th of February we fell in with the Hobart in the Gulf of Manaar,¹ between Ceylon & the Main, Took her in Tow & proceeded with her to Bombay.—I found the Hobart in a most dilapidated state, chiefly from the white Ants, which had more or less destroyed her whole frame, and on the 16th got her safe into Bombay Harbour.—My Ship was now in real good Order, sound & tight, New

¹ The island of Manaar lies off the west coast of the northern province of Ceylon, continuing the line of the island of Ramiscram and the reef known as Adam's Bridge.

rigging & well manned, & in truth I was proud of my Command.—The number of Naval Officers being so much multiplied in this Port We formed a Mess on Shore, at a Commodious Mansion offered us by the Wealthy Native, Dadee Naserwangee. It bore the Name of Chince Poogley, Where in return for the many kind attentions of the numerous English Population of this place, in Civil & Military Government, we gave a few very Splendid Parties, & with the Bands of Music from the Squadron, our Chince Poogly parties became the Ambition of all to partake, & literally to us, became more amusing than profitable.—

At this period the Persian Government had an Ambassador at Bombay,¹ being the first Diplomatist of this Character sent by the Court of Persia to treat with the East India Company, & by way of Showing marked respect to this Persian Ambassador, the Governor General at Calcutta sent a Company of first class Hindoo Seypoys, as a Guard of Honour to this Persian Ambassador, and who brought with him a Company of Persian Soldiers, composed as the Persian Army is of the Renegades of all Nations. —I may say all Scoundrels will find a ready accep-

¹ This was Hadjee Khalil Khan, who had been sent to return the visit of Sir John Malcolm to Persia.

tance in the Ranks of the Persian Army.—The Persians, who eat every kind of Food, were in the habit of insulting the Hindoo Seypoys by dabbing Meat in their Mouths.—The Hindoos never eat Meat, nor never use any food that could have Animal Life, not even an Egg.—They represented to their Officers this frequent Insult of the Persians, & the Officers reported it to the proper Authorities, yet no notice was taken of the degrading Insult.—The Hindoos, who prefer Death to such Degradation of their Caste, Collectively by stealth obtained & secreted Ball Cartridges, & on the repetition of Insult both parties turned out in Battle Array.—The firing was hot while it lasted, which I can full well Vouch for, as I happened to be riding my Arab Grey past the Ambassador's House at the moment when the Musquet Balls whistled about me, from Pistol Shot distance, thicker & faster than on any former or subsequent occasion could make me aware of.—The Persian Ambassador came out to Command a stop to the Fight; He was completely riddled with Balls, & Dead in a Second. The next in Command of the Embassy, having received a Ball in his Knee, fell, & his Life thereby was saved.—The Bengal Seypoys soon cut the Persians up, and thereby only could this untoward affair have been ended.—But how it was settled by the Court of Persia I know not; But this I do know,

that the then Major Malcolm,¹ very soon after, was sent to the Court of Persia as Ambassador without a Body Guard & was well received.²—The Body of the Persian Ambassador was Embalmed, & sent up the Persian Gulf to Bussarah.—I among others had to attend the Ceremony of conveying his Body, on foot, during a Hot burning Sun, to the Ship in which his remains were conveyed.—

It was now the Commencement³ of the Marhatta⁴ War, in this part of India. They had long been troublesome, & by Sea, their Grab⁵ Ships & Prows of War had made many Captures &

¹ John Malcolm (1769–1833): K.C.B. 1815, G.C.B. 1820, the distinguished Indian administrator.

² Carden is in error in stating that Malcolm was 'soon after' sent to Persia. In October 1802, when this fracas occurred, Malcolm had not long returned from his mission to Persia by which Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, hoped to checkmate the Amir of Afghanistan, Zemaun Shah, by whom the peace of India was at this time being threatened. Malcolm had left Bombay for Teheran in December 1799, returning in May 1801.

³ The Mahratta War may be said to have begun when Arthur Wellesley, in March 1803, entered the Mahratta territory en route for Poonah.

⁴ *Sic* MS.: i. e. Mahratta,

⁵ These 'grab' ships, so-called from the Arabic word for a 'raven', were large vessels used in the Indian Ocean for the coasting-trade. They were broad in proportion to their length, drew very little water, had a sharp prow, and carried as a rule two masts. The 'prows' were the same as the 'proas' of the Malays, for which cf. note on p. 43.

Insults to the British Flag.—And thus it was that Bombay became the Depot of all Munitions of War, & with a large Military Force in the adjacent Country.—

On the 18th February 1803 at Noon observed the City of Bombay on fire in several places, When the Signal was made by the Admiral for Captains, Officers, & Crews, from each Ship, of four of our Squadron (number Specified), to proceed on Shore & assist in saving the City.—The four Captains of the Squadron landed with their Crews & Ships' Fire Engines, & took different Stations in the City.—Mine was on the North side, in the Circle of the Magazines.—The Houses being chiefly built of Wood, the progress of the Flames was awful, and the Religion of Fire worshippers being that of the Chief of the Inhabitants, no effort to arrest its progress could be expected from them.—The numerous Inhabitants, Women, Children, & Aged, who could or would not depart from their Houses until the last extremity, or were dragged out by our Men, must have been immense, & the numbers who perished in the Flames no one could calculate.—Among whom I had to regret two of my Brave Crew.—Every Ladder was in requisition, & thus only could the upper Stories be reached to help the Women & Children, who were borne down the ladders on the Seamen's backs, or by Ropes.—It

certainly was Heartrending to hear the Shrieks of those in the upper Stories of the Houses in Flames, when no possible help could be afforded.—

I have often, in walking through the Streets by Night on many former occasions, been asked by persons shutting up their Bazaars to blow a Candle or Lamp out, Their Religion forbidding them to Extinguish Fire by any means.—

While the Fire was raging Violently in the District I had to act in, The Governor, Jonathan Duncan¹ Esq^r, came up to me, & while I was replying to some questions or remark he had made, Up came several of his Staff Officers and Exclaimed, ‘Sir, you had better quit the Citadel directly. Such a street is in flames, & in a House in that Street there is a deposit of Five Hundred barrels of Gun Powder, which the Bomb proof Magazine would not contain. It must soon take Fire, & then no person can sustain the Shock, nor can one Stone be left on another of the Walls of this City, therefore do not stay a moment.’—The Governor replied, ‘I will never quit the City on such an occasion.’ And He having previously thanked me for my unceasing Exertions, now turnd round to me & said, Captain Carden, ‘See if you can Save us All.’—I replied in a hurry, & ejaculating Orders to collect

¹ Jonathan Duncan (1756–1811), Governor of Bombay from 1795 to his death.

my Brave Crew, told the Governor I should not quit my Station, or slacken my exertions, & would do all that could be expected.—My Officers & Men were soon around me, & Water being close at hand in a Pond near the Citadel, off we started with as much Water in our Fire Buckets & Engine as those Vessels would contain.—We were led to the Street & house, when I found that the Governor's Staff Officers had stated what was quite correct.—The Street was in Flames on both sides, & found the temporary Magazine therein was only more secure than any other House therein that Street by having a double door, Wood Porch, & closed Windows.—This Porch had now began to Ignite, which we soon Extinguished, & breaking the Door open (for no key was to be found in the Confusion that prevailed) I beheld the dread Combustible matter on the Ground Floor of a large House.—I ordered my Men to off their Duck Jackets & Shoulder each a Cask, placing the Jacket over it to Screen it from the falling Fire from the Houses.—The distance from the Sea Wall did not exceed one hundred Yards.—There seemed to be some hesitation on the part of my Men, When I off my blue Jacket, placed it over the first Barrel of Gun Powder on my Back, & was directly followed by every Man of my Crew, the Officers first, & all unhesitatingly followed.—We got safe through the flakes of Fire falling in all

directions, & deposited our first Burthen in the Sea, over the Sea Wall, & off again double quick to renew the effort.—On placing my Jacket on my Arm, I found my Cambric handkerchief in its pocket in a state of fusion, the Fire having fallen into it on our way down the Street.—And thus we most Providentially, Successfully, & opportunely repeated our efforts, until the Contents of this dreaded Store was cleared.—When this work was completed I felt much exhausted, but it was visible much was yet left to do.—The City continued in awful Flames for three days & two Nights, & scarcely a Vestige of the City except the Citadel & the Houses occupied by the European Officers Civil & Military escaped.—They were generally Built of Stone, with Slated Roofs, & who generally resided in the South of the City.—

Two days after this Fire had subsided I dind with the Governor, all his Staff & a large party around him, & on my Name being announced, the Governor Exclaimed with a corresponding motion of his Arms, ‘I request you will all stand back & allow Captain Carden to come forward, the Officer who under Providence has Saved our City of Bombay & all that are in it.—I felt the full effect of this reception, & do so, to this day. But here, except in words expressed to Admiral Rainier¹ by Public

¹ Admiral Peter Rainier (1741–1808), Commander-in-Chief in

letter from the Governor in Council, was obtained all the advantages derivd by me as compensation for my determined & fatiguing exertions.—And as a proof of this, I did subsequently enclose the letters in appendix No. 1. to the Board of Directors of the East India Company, with my request that they would grant a Cadet appointment in their Army for my young Friend, & which they refused.—

I now felt every day a serious illness approaching. The fatal Disease of India attacked me, entirely resulting from my overstrained exertions in suppressing this awful Fire.—The Disease of my Liver became so Violent, & was so enlarged by Inflammation, that had not strong Mercurial application had effect within twenty four hours I must have died.—But it had, & I felt relief. Still I was seriously ill.—I requested the presence of all the Medical Men of Note from the Shore & Squadron, who came on Board, & all gave it as their decided Opinion, that though I might hold on Life, perhaps a Month, yet from the Virulence of the Disease I could not again expect to recover Health in the climate of India.—

It happened, & fortunately, I termed it, that an India Company's Ship was now about to Sail from the East Indies, 1793–1804, Rear-Admiral 1795, Vice-Admiral 1799, Admiral 1805.

Bombay for England.—I wrote an official letter to the Commander in Chief of the Navy, then in Port, to order an official Survey of Medical Men to be held on me, & their official report was as before stated, & Consequently I was Invalided as unfit for Service in India.—When the report was made to Admiral Rainier, He came on board to see me, Express'd his regret at my Illness, & said He would write an Official letter by me to the Board of Admiralty, recommending me to their attention, & charge me with Dispatches to the said Board.—

CHAPTER 5th.

ALL being now arranged as in the preceding Chapter I did on the 28th day of March 1803 Resign the Command of His Majestys Ship Sheerness to Captain James Lind, late of the Wilhelmina.—I was hoisted out of my Ship in my Cot, & into the Indiaman homeward bound.—The Cheers of my Gallant Crew whom I had so long Commanded Vibrated on my feeble Frame, & regret of Heart at being obliged to part.—We sailed direct for Calicut, on the Coast of Malabar, & thence to & took our final departure from India & from that well known Mount on Ceylon, the Lion's Rump. And on this night a Woman Passenger, in a state of Insanity, jumped into the Ocean & was Drowned. We proceeded on our Voyage as fast as a heavy Laden Ship could be expected. We had several Army Officers on board like myself returning to Europe, in Hope of reestablishing the Constitution Impaired by the Climate of India, & who were pleasant Companions on a long Sea Voyage.—The Sea seemd deserted, no Stranger in sight, and no Incident worth relating occured.—We arrived off the Cape of Good Hope, where the contrary Monsoon retarded our progress & the very heavy Gales drove us far to

the Southward.—Being about the middle of one night, I was struck with the sudden cessation of walking or other movement on Deck.—I got up & was soon on Deck to know the cause, when I found the whole Watch perfectly astounded & unnerved. We had got among the Seals, & by chance the Ship had separated a Male & Female.—The Female Seal set up a Cry, much resembling a Woman in distress, which so operated on the minds of the Watch of Seamen that they were motionless, or on their knees at Prayers, I supposed.—The Officer of the Watch, who seemed somewhat astounded also, said that the Men felt convinced that it was the Ghost of the Woman who had Drowned herself off Ceylon on our departure.—I had seen a case of this kind before, & was aware of the cause.—As the Sea was this night brilliantly Phosphoric I plainly discerned the track of the Fish. However, with the help of a Rope's end I soon brought all to their Senses, & shortly after the two Seals met under our Stern & Grunted their gratification most loudly.—

We got all well round the Cape of Good Hope, & made for & arrived safe at St Helena, where we Anchored to gain refreshments & refit the Ship.—We here heard of the probability of a French War, & being supplied & refitted Proceeded to Sea.—We saw no Vessel until we got well into the Atlantic

Ocean.—I had now much recovered from my illness, even more than I could have expected, but felt great anxiety to get clear of a Merchant Ship in probable War & which I deemed now raged.—A Suspicious Vessel now hove in sight, & I soon discovered her to be a Vessel of War. We cleared for Action, having Sixteen 12 pounder Guns Mounted.—The Commander of the Ship now requested me to take the Command to Fight the Stranger, if an Enemy. I directly made all Sail & hauled the Ship up for the Stranger, hoisting our Colours & a Pendant, & fired a Shot at her, When She hoisted English Colours also.—On our Communicating with the Stranger She proved to be a Privateer out of Liverpool.—We parted & Shaped our course homewards, now convinced of its being a Hot War with France.—We had a fair Wind, & the third day after was brought to by a British Frigate, to the Captain of which I represented my being charged with Dispatches from the Commander in Chief in India, & the chance of our Capture without Convoy.—The Captain took me on board with my Dispatches, & made Sail for the Blockading Fleet off Brest.¹—

¹ The blockade of Brest had been re-established by the British fleet under Admiral Cornwallis in May 1803, less than a week after Lord Whitworth had demanded his passports at Paris. Cornwallis was, of course, the same officer under whom Carden had already served in the East Indies, cf. pp. 19 ff.

The Fleet was under the Command of Admiral Cornwallis, who directly Ordered the Pickle, a fast Sailing Schooner, to land me on the first part of the British Coast he could make, which happened to be Falmouth.—I was soon in a Chaise & four Horses & got to Plymouth that night, & having waited on the Port Admiral,¹ went direct in Twenty three hours & half to the Admiralty.—Having deliver'd my Dispatches &c & waited on Earl St Vincent, then ² first Lord of the Admiralty, who received me with every mark of kindness & who gave me one Hour to get ready for further Service, at which time I called on the Secretary to the Admiralty,³ & receiv'd my Commission to Command the Chapman, Armed ship of Twenty two Guns, Twelve Pounders, & to proceed to Edinborough to join my said Ship, & there follow the Orders I might receive from the Admiral Commanding His Majesty's Ships & Vessels in those Seas.⁴—I continued my four Horse Chaise to Edinborough, being three

¹ Probably Admiral Sir John Colpoys, who took over command of the port in June 1803. Carden, it will be noticed, does not give the date of his arrival.

² St. Vincent had become First Lord in the spring of 1801, on the formation of Addington's ministry.

³ Sir Evan Nepean (1751–1822), created Baronet 1802, Secretary to the Admiralty 1795–1804.

⁴ Admiral Lord Keith was in command of the vessels in the North Sea with his head-quarters in the Downs.

days hard work.—Being only allowed one Shilling per mile travelling expenses, & having paid Two hundred Pounds for my passage home from India, made it on the whole a losing concern.—

It was now daily expected that Buonaparte would attempt an Invasion of Great Britain, & no doubt he contemplated it,¹ but Britons were not at that period to be taken at a Nonplus. Every Heart beat with Enthusiasm to meet this determin'd Enemy of our Country.—On my arrival at Edinburgh I took Command of the Chapman & of Sixty Sail of Gun Boats, Fishing Smacks, each fitted with a twelve Pounder Carronade, & Manned by Men enrolled as Sea Fencibles, That is Fishermen & Boatmen in the Firth of Forth, between Fifeness & the Queen's Ferry, & which amounted to Two thousand Men.—My Head Quarters was near Leith, after a short time Dunbar, & Subsequently the Coast of Fifeshire.—There was much every day work in drilling & Training our new Recruits, but all went on Smooth, & I soon found myself Master of my work.—I next fixed my head Quarters at Burnt Island, but finding Kirkaldy more Central for my Duties, Moved my head Quarters

¹ The best discussion of Napoleon's real intentions on this point is to be found in Dr. J. Holland Rose's *Napoleon and Pitt*. He is strongly in favour of the view that Napoleon did intend to invade England if he could.

to that Town, & nothing could exceed the Attentions of all Persons in the Neighbourhood. Their Hospitality was unbounded.—I here passed the Winter of 1803 in perfectly renovated Health; & I was Honour'd by the Freedom of the United Burghs of Burnt Island, Kirkaldy, & Dysart, with which I did, & still do, feel highly flattered.—

The Early Months of 1804 passed on. The Alarm of Invasion Ceased. No Fighting was probable, & surely then no Chance of Promotion for an Officer with my feelings, who had ever abandoned the Idea of seeking private Influence to obtain that progress in the Service which I had fully determined my Sword alone should obtain.—In the end of July this Year I wrote the Admiralty officially on this subject, requesting they would appoint an Officer to Supercede me, & that I would anxiously await their Lordships' favorable Consideration to grant me an appointment to a Sea-going Ship, in which I might have a chance to obtain that Promotion which was the Prominent object of my wishes.—In due course of Slow Coach in those days a Senior Officer to me Arrived to Supercede me from the Hebrides, who was pleased but astonished I should have voluntarily vacated so good an Employment.—I was two days busy packing & taking leave of my many good Friends, & on the third day received an Order from the Admiralty to proceed to their

Office (London) and take up my Commission as Commander of His Majesty's Sloop of War *Moselle* at Sheerness.—I lost no time in crossing the Firth of Forth to Edinburgh, & by Mail Coach proceeded to London & took up my Commission as Commander of His Majesty's Sloop of War *Moselle*,¹ Mounting Sixteen 32 Pounder Carronades & two long 9 Pounder Guns.—Having Commissioned my Ship, or Brig rather, we all went to work with a good will, and when ready for Sea was Ordered to put myself under the Command of Admiral Russell² at Great Yarmouth, and on my arrival there I was by him Ordered to join the Blockading Squadron off the Texel, and on this Service, was chiefly under the Command of that good & Gallant Officer, Captain Broughton of the *Penelope* of 36 Guns, but generally close in with the Mouth of the Texel Harbour, & alone, during which time I captured many Vessels breaking Blockade.—I had sent into Yarmouth Roads at one time nearly one Hundred Thousand Pounds worth of Merchandise, & all of which I felt assured was Condemnable in the Court of Admiralty.—But Admiral Russell took alarm,

¹ The *Moselle* had been taken from the French in April 1794 off Hyères.

² Thomas Macnamara Russell (1743–1824) : Rear-Admiral 1801, Vice-Admiral 1805, Admiral 1812, Commander-in-Chief in the North Sea 1807. He was the senior naval officer present at the reduction of Heligoland September 1807.

& before my return to Port Ordered all to be releas'd. —I had Subsequently the Chagrin to Chace one of such released Vessels into the Texel, until finding my short Guns (Carronades) not competent to Cope with long Guns Mounted on Stone Batteries, I felt obliged to allow the Vessel to enter.—

I must here digress from my Seagoing Memoir to say that however successful in result of the efforts of the Services of the Sword, surely my decided Fate seems to have been that I should never become a Rich Man in Money concerns, As in those Ships just mentioned I was entitled to Share Twenty Thousand Pounds.—I passed a Spanish Galleon off Brest in the night, with a full half Million of Specie on board, by being one hour too soon on her Track, and going on the other Tack to avoid the Rocks, but the Galleon run on those Rocks, when Ship, Cargo, & most of the Crew were totally lost.—Again, my Father possessed a very large tract of Country presented to him by the Ottawa Indians, in the Subsequently United States, & twenty Years back was worth more than half a Million Sterling, of which I became Disinherited more, I believe, from want of prompt application than any other cause, as the property became Ceded to the United States at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War.—And again my Father left me Six Thousand Guineas in the South Carolina Funds, which on application for, some years after

the Peace, I received a reply to say, ' That the State had duly Confiscated & Expended said Monies in carrying on the War with & against Great Britain.— It cost me Three hundred Pounds to make my claim in due form, & proved to be throwing good Money at a mere Shadow, nor had I any Friend at the conclusion of the American War, 1782, who was aware of the necessity or propriety of claiming from the British Government a share of those grants to Royallists who were despoiled by the Revolution.—

I now again have recourse to my Sea Narrative.— Late in 1804 I received Orders to proceed to Leith, & on my arrival on that Station the Admiral Commanding gave me Orders to proceed off the Coast of Norway to look after a French Privateer of 16 Guns which had done much Mischief to our Trade in those Seas.—I soon arrived off that Coast, & heard from a Vessel spoken with that the said Privateer was in the Neutral Harbour of Stavanger, and in my way thither was caught in as heavy a Gale as I have Experienced, & having lost our Main Top Mast, I was anxious to get into some Port to repair Damages, & as soon as it Moderated a Pilot Boat came off & Boarded us, and run us under the Lee of one of the outside Islands of this Archipelago of Norway.—We made fast by Hawsers to the Rocks, there being no Anchorage, the Rocks being Steep up & down.—The second day from our

arrival here I proceeded to Stavanger & anchored in that Harbour.—It being a Neutral Port the British Consul was very Civil, & we got all the Necessary supplies, but the Enemy's Privateer not having been here lately was supposed to be at Bergen, the Capital Sea Port of Norway.—I took a Pilot, & proceeded direct through or between the Islands which bound this Coast to Bergen.—It was a very laborious passage, as we chiefly rowed or Swept as it is termed, the Moselle the greatest part of the way.—But all was repaid, we found the Privateer in this Port.—I could not, or rather would not, Anchor, for the Laws of a Neutral Port are that Belligerent Vessels shall not proceed from the Anchorage under twenty four hours after each other, and the first giving Notice of Sailing to have preference of Departure.—I felt assured that the moment the French Privateer saw that mine was an English Vessel of War He gave Notice of Sailing.—However, I waited on the Governor, & accepted his Invitation to Dinner, Having been assured the Frenchman could not Sail that Evening. I found a pleasant party, among whom was the Governor's two Daughters, fine young Women. I received marked attention, & got off to the Moselle at midnight. We kept the Moselle standing off & on the Port, never out of sight of what they were about, & the next day the Governor sent an Officer

on board to say, 'That as being a Neutral Port, we must not Blockade it, as it seemed to him we were now doing, & that the Forts had Orders to Fire into us if we came within Shot range.'—I cared little about this, but as it came on to Blow hard, so that we could not use our Sweeps, & the Pilot refusing to keep charge on the long dark nights, & the narrow space among the Islands, I felt necessitated to bear up & Anchor in a small Bay in an Island five or six Miles to Leeward of Bergen.—I left our Boat, the 1st Cutter, with an Officer to look out on the Privateer, and to make an established Signal in case of her Sailing, when in the Morning Watch the Officer in the Cutter returned, burning a Blue light, & by the time he got on board, just at the Dawn of day, got the Anchor up & off to Seaward through the Islands.—We got within a few miles of the open Sea before Dark, but the Pilot refused to proceed by night, & I felt assured from my Chart that the Course the Privateer took she could not get the open Sea before Morning.—At dawn of Day we were off, and on gaining the open Sea a very thick Fog came on, but at 10 A.M. in a comparatively clear moment we discovered the large Lugger rigged Privateer. The wind being very light, as it is always in Fog, we out Sweeps, as did the Enemy, & I soon found she went at least three feet an end to our two.

A breeze shortly sprung up, & under all Canvas we found she had equally the advantage in Sailing. Still I was determined to persevere. The Enemy at 2 P.M. was seven miles ahead. I now observed with my Spy Glass that she was laid off in her Course by a change of Wind, & soon after that she had got into a kind of whirlwind, which made her Course round the Compass, while I brought the steady wind up. We soon got within Gun Shot.—The wind was hardly available on the Sails, or might be called Calm, & the Sky was awful in appearance. We occasionally plied our Shot, & at length by our Superior Tact got within point blank range of her. The French Crew ran from their Quarters, & her Captain with the Helmsman being the only persons on Deck would not or did not strike the French Flag.—Seeing the Awful approach of Weather, & certainly no time for Parley, I gave orders to fire into & sink her. I saw our Shot strike, & go through her, when at this Moment a sudden gust of Wind ahead, with her large Jib out, wore her quickly round, & off she set with reefed Lug Sails. I wore round as soon as possible, & got a Broadside at her in passing. But I was fully assured she was so hulled by our Shot as not long to be possible to keep afloat.—It now came on to Blow Violently, though we kept our course in pursuit, When in a moment the Enemy disappeared among a Foam

of Sea, & felt assured of her Fate & all her Crew.—But it directly came on such a Hurricane that self preservation became truly necessary, as we had to reduce all our Canvas, down Top Gallant Yards & Masts, & secure our Guns &c—so that I could make no possible effort to save any of the Enemy's Crew, & we saw nothing more of her after her quick disappearance.—Captain Hancock,¹ who was a keen Cruiser in the North Sea, Subsequently gave Information that he had spoken a Vessel who had fallen in with some floating Wreck the same night, & on which they found & received on board five of this said Privateer's Crew, being the only part of Ninety Men she sailed with, who had escaped Death by Shot or Drowning, & it turned out that those Men gave a fair detail of their destruction.²—

I had Orders with me on the termination of my Cruise to Proceed to the Downs, & from thence was Ordered to Portsmouth, where I received Orders to proceed to Cadis, & place myself under the Orders of Lord Nelson, Commanding the Fleet in those Seas.—I was soon ready, as was a Convoy of Merchant Ships for the Mediteranean, Under

¹ John Hancock (1766–1839), promoted Rear-Admiral 1838; he had distinguished himself greatly when in command of the *Cruiser* 18, employed in operations against the invasion flotilla collected at Boulogne and in the neighbouring port.

² There is no account of the destruction of this privateer either in James or in Laird Clowes.

the Orders of Captain Ogle,¹ now Admiral Sir Charles Ogle, then Commanding a Frigate.—The Port Admiral at Portsmouth gave me Orders to join the Naval Force of this Convoy under Captain Ogle.—We all sailed direct on this Service, with another Frigate & two Sloops of War, & without anything particular occurring reached & passed Lisbon, When Captain Ogle Spoke an American Merchant Ship, who informed him that the day before he was brought to & closely overhauled by a French Squadron of very superior Force to ours.²—Consequently Captain Ogle deemed it necessary for the safety of our Rich Convoy to bear up for Lisbon, where we arrived the day after.—I am sure Captain Ogle was correct in securing his Convoy, but the Mishap to me of being one of his party was surely very severe, as had I been allowed to proceed single Ship, as was Originally intended, I should have had the Honour of being in the Battle of Trafalgar.—We were in Lisbon eight days, when we heard of the Battle of Trafalgar, which was the Total & Final Defeat of the Navies, our Enemies in Europe.—But with the loss of that

¹ Charles Ogle (1775–1858) : Rear-Admiral 1819, Vice-Admiral 1830, Admiral 1841, Admiral of the Fleet 1857; succeeded his father as second Baronet 1816.

² Probably that under Allemand which was off the coast of Portugal about this time; cf. J. S. Corbett, *Campaign of Trafalgar*, p. 315.

Great Naval Chief Nelson, whose fellow in prompt Courage, Great Nautical Skill, & conscientious feeling, in ascribing all his Successes to the direct interposition of a Mercifully guiding, has led us to look to his loss as a serious discomfiture. But I hope & believe we have yet many Nelsons in Store, ready under the continued favor of a Merciful God to guide & direct them in defence of our Country, our Unique Laws, & our always belovd Monarch.—

We left Lisbon as soon as those Severe Gales which had so much deranged the grand Victory, by the destruction of many of the Prize Ships, the Escape of a few, and the disorganisation of the whole Fleet, who afterwards joined its Gallant second in Command, Lord Collingwood at Gibraltar. On my arrival here I received an Order from Lord Collingwood to place myself under his Command, & to Cruise in the Sea between Naples & Palermo, & on my way up stood into Almuria Bay,¹ where I made a good Capture of a Merchant Vessel which helped to pay my Mess.—We got to Naples late in the Year 1805, & in Cruising in what is termed the Terranean² Sea, inside Sicily, found the Weather as Boisterous & the Navigation more dangerous than in the preceding Year in that awful

¹ Probably Almeria on the southern coast of Spain, just west of Cape de Gata.

² i. e. Tyrrhenian.

Gulf between Shetland & Norway.—I will not enter into a detail of having Stromboli under our Lee in heavy Gales, with thick weather, Hail & rain, & the numerous Islands, with strong Currents influenced by Winds, & the protracted Sea Room between Scylla & Charybdis, & Straits of Mesina with the Vomiting Fire of Etna, Vesuvius, & Stromboli.—

At the end of this Year I received Orders to join Lord Collingwood off Cadiz, & early in January got off that Port, & was placed under the particular Orders of Captain Mundy,¹ who Commanded the Hydra, a 38 Gun Frigate, on the Blockade of Cadiz, & I had the inshore look out on the Enemy's Fleet, & among them several French Frigates & Sloops of War.—The heavy Easterly Gales soon drove Lord Collingwood's Fleet far to Leeward, out of sight of Cadiz, when the Hydra & Moselle were the only available Vessels of War off the Enemy's Port.—Close in Shore as we were the Sea was smooth with the East wind.—The Moselle, Brig rigged, sailed fast & was well Manned, in fact she could be made to do every thing but speak.—I was constantly close in the Harbours Mouth, the Navigation of which I knew as well, or perhaps better than, any Spaniard in their Marine Service,

¹ Probably George Mundy (1777–1861), promoted Rear-Admiral 1830.

& as I had long known & practiced taking Rest by Day, & not by night, I felt no hardship in keeping a sharp look out between Sun Set & Sun Rise.—At length one fine Night,¹ but rather Cloudy, by a short clearing of the Moon, I caught a glimpse of the Enemy under Sail in the Harbour & soon observed them Approaching fast.—I lost no time in putting the Helm up & making the Night Signals of the Enemy coming out.—I cut through a narrow Channel, which I knew the Enemy's Frigates would not venture through in the Night, & ran direct to the Hydra, the only British Man of War off the Port with the Moselle.—The Enemy's Squadron consisted of Three Frigates² & a large Brig, Each Frigate of equal Force with the Hydra, & the Brig of superior Force to the Moselle.—Having Hailed the Hydra, I was ordered by Captain Mundy to keep on the Larboard Quarter of the Enemy, who now bore up after Exchanging a few Broadides; and we were in hopes of falling in with Lord Collingwood's Fleet, or their out Scouts, so as to bring the Enemy to Action,

¹ February 26, 1806.

² This squadron was under Captain La Marre la Meillerie, and included four, not three, frigates, the *Hortense* 40, *Hermione* 40, *Rhin* 40, and *Thémis* 36. The squadron made its way to the West Indies; returning thence to Rochefort in July 1806, it met the *Mars* 74, by which it was pursued. The *Rhin* was overtaken and captured, her consorts leaving her in the lurch; cf. James, iv. 165-6.

with a prospect of Success. Though we offered, or rather did not decline Battle, Yet no chance of Victory could have been expected.—In keeping up with the Enemy on each quarter we made every distant night Signal, Throwing up Rockets, Burning Blue lights at the Mast heads, & firing every Gun in the Ship at the same moment. Certainly the Enemy's great object was to Escape on some secret Expedition, & we had no means to prevent them, nor were any of our Fleet within sight or hearing of our Signals.—The French Squadron kept on the African Shore, & it proved our Fleet kept on the Spanish Shore.—About 2 A.M. I observed the French Brig to drop much astern of her Consorts the Frigates. I had looked every minute anxiously to get her a sufficient distance from her Consorts to attack her. Finding the moment had arrived, I had reefed & hauled across the Rear of the French Frigates to attack her, & by the time we were ready for the exploit I saw the Hydra had executed the same Manœuvre, & she being first up with the French Brig, & firing a few Guns, She had directly Surrendered.—But not hearing her declaration, & on my running up close under her Stern to lay her on board, She lustily Hailed to say such was the case.—I spoke the Hydra, & Captain Mundy ordered me to Steer for Cape Trafalgar, & on falling in with the British Fleet to Inform the Admiral with

the Escape of the Enemy's Squadron, & the Capture by us of one of them, & that the Hydra would bring the Prize¹ into the Fleet.—I made all Sail, & at 6 A.M. saw our Fleet from the Mast head.—I made the necessary Telegraphic Signals, was soon in with the Admiral, & saw the Hydra and Prize coming up.—This was in February 1806.—Three Frigates were sent in pursuit of the Enemy by Lord Collingwood, but proved not to be successful.—Captain Mundy made Honourable mention of my Name to Lord Collingwood on this occasion, a confirmation of which was published in the next Gazette after my arrival in England.—Lord Collingwood told me the best thing he could do for me was to send me direct Home with Dispatches for the Admiralty, Which having received & all letters for the Fleet, made all Sail for England. We had very heavy Gales & adverse winds during our Voyage home, & for seven days & nights could not distinguish, Sun, Moon, or Stars, but so perfect happened to be our Log reckoning, that on the Eighth night we made the Eddystone light, within four Miles of our Log reckoning.—I got into Plymouth early next day, but being of necessity under Quarantine Flag could not Land.—The Admiral's Lieutenant

¹ This was the *Furet* 18; Laird Clowes puts the capture of the *Furet* after the detaching of Carden to hunt for the Commander-in-Chief.

came alongside with the Quarantine Boat, and by the Standing Orders in all Ports Ships from the Mediteranean hoist a yellow Flag to denote such being the case.—We delivered our Dispatches, which was then & there fumigated, & was all Landed, & the Moselle, a Healthy & Happy Man of War, was after return of Post from London released from Quarantine. I now also received my Commission as Post Captain, which was antedated to the 22nd January 1806.—

CHAPTER 6th.

I now joined my Wife & Family at what was then called Plymouth Dock but now Devonport, is now become a Corporate Town & returns a Member to Parliament.¹—I enjoyed this Novelty of Living on Shore, in a Sea Port & in War time, just as much as any of my Readers can suppose a Fish out of Water could do. And I was too proud in Heart to push the Interest of the great & Powerful of my Connections, & made a Virtue of my State. I now made a Happy excursion to Visit my good Uncle Surman, who was always the same kind Hearted being from first to last.—I certainly lost no Opportunity of Soliciting the attention of the Board of Admiralty, and after a long run on Shore I was appointed in August 1808 to Command His Majesty's Ship *Ville de Paris* of 110 Guns, at this time the most Powerful & first Ship ² in the British Navy, & then at Plymouth.—Being on the Spot I did on

¹ Devonport received a member by the Reform Act of 1832.

² She was of 2,332 tons and had been built at Chatham by 1795. Strictly speaking both the *Commerce de Marseilles*, taken at Toulon in 1793, and the *San Josef*, taken from the Spaniards at Cape St. Vincent in 1797, both of which were added to the Navy, were larger, but the former was only used as a store-ship and the latter does not seem to have had much commissioned service.

the same day read my Commission to the Officers & Crew, & got all ready for Sea as soon as possible to be accomplished, & yet had a large part of my Crew to collect.—

On the 13th November I received an Order (See Appendix N^o 2) from the Honorable Admiral Stopford¹ to Hoist his Flag, Blue at the Mizzen, which I did ; but I did not remain long with his Flag Flying, Being Ordered in a great hurry to Proceed to Vigo Bay, & there with other Ships of War & Transports to attend on Sir John Moore's Army, Who were in full retreat out of Spain & Portugal before the French Army.²—We soon reached the said Rendezvous of Vigo Anchorage & remained here some time.—But as the French General had out-Generaled³ Sir John Moore, the latter was obliged to proceed direct on to Corunna, & of which the Ships of War & Transports received the necessary information.—We were all Ordered direct to Corunna to receive Sir John Moore & his

¹ Cf. p. 79.

² Moore's retreat from Sahagun began on December 24, 1808. He had written to Castlereagh on December 16 asking that transports should be sent out to Vigo to embark his army if this should be necessary.

³ Hardly a very happy way of putting it. Moore's choice of Corunna for the point on which his retreat was directed was his own deliberate selection, not in any way forced on him by the movements of the French ; cf. General Maurice's *Diary of Sir John Moore*, ii. 383.

Army on board the Fleet.—The distance not being great after rounding Cape Finistere, we reached Corunna as soon as the Army,¹ who were still closely pursued by the French ; but they did not attack, as was said, waiting the strength of their whole Army to arrive up.—The British Army took up their position on the Heights outside Corunna, & we set to directly to Embark the Invalids, Women & Children, & a more distressing sight I never beheld or could have contemplated, & the detail of Miseries & privations our Army had endured is by far Exceeding the power of my Pen to describe.—I heard very much of it in detail, & I saw very much of it in its dire results, for as I was the Junior Captain in this Port & on this Service, though Commanding the largest Ship under our Admiral (Purvis),² consequently the great fatigue & exertion of Embarking this Noble & Brave Army devolved Chiefly on me. Yet other Captains of the Squadron had much duty to perform.—

The second night after our arrival a Council of War was held by Sir John Moore in the City, at which Admiral Purvis & all the Naval Captains

¹ When Moore's army reached Corunna on January 11, 1809, the bulk of the transports were not yet there, having been detained by contrary winds. It was not till the 14th that they arrived ; cf. Fortescue, vi. 377.

² Rear-Admiral J. C. Purvis, promoted to that rank April 1804, Vice-Admiral October 1809, Admiral 1819.

were called to attend.—It was then declared by Sir John Moore that on the Morning a Battle would be Fought with the French Army, & all arrangements were made with the Admiral for a Speedy Embarkation ; For surely General Sir John Moore felt well aware of the Superior Valour of the Men he Commanded & the Strength of the Position he occupied.—

While all this was scanning¹ over we heard a Dragoon riding hard over the Pavement in the Street we were in Conclave, When Sir John Moore Exclaimed, here comes a Dispatch, I am sure, from Sir David Baird, who was second in Command of the Army, let us hear what it says before we proceed.—The Dragoon was soon usherd in, when all he had to deliver was a short Note for me, which ran thus, ‘ My Dear Captain Carden, I find you Command in this Bay the finest Ship in the British Navy. You know our great Battle is to be fought tomorrow, & early we shall be at work. If I should be hit, I know you will take great care of me, & if not Hit, I assuredly Embark for England in your Noble Ship, & talk over old times & long Acquaintance ’. —I was gratified by the Confidence of this great Man, with whom I had seen so much Service, & whose good opinion was a high Honour to any of his fellow Men.—

The Council, having arranged all matters,

¹ *Sic* M.S.: ? ‘scanning’.

Separated, & every mind became most anxious to behold the dawn of the approaching day.—Sir John Moore joined his head Quarters, & surely the interval until Morning was more than anxious.—I was on my Quarter Deck long before day-light, Sweeping the Land with my Spy Glass in the Vicinity of the Hostile Armies, and as the day dawned observed the French Army in dense Columns approaching the British, who seemed all alive & ready for Fight.¹—And as soon as Signal Flags could be distinguished the Admiral made that for all Officers to repair as previously Ordered with the Boats of the Fleet, & with very much Promptitude the Signal was Obeyed by all.—

The Battle on Shore was now commenced. There was a Valley between the two Armies, & the French Gallantly ascended the Elevation, on which our Army was strongly Posted.—And though I went outside the Citadel, & my Barge's Crew well Armed with me, to have a clearer view of this Glorious Combat, Still I must refer my reader to the Page of History for that brilliant display of the Historical Pen, which I feel conscious I am incapable of portraying in sufficient justice to our Brave British Soldiers.—I soon observed the French Army was worsted in all their display of Gallantry.—

¹ For accounts of the battle of Corunna, cf. Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, i. 583-94, and Fortescue, vi. 377-89.

The cool & steady Bravery of the British Soldier never Shone more Conspicuous, & the well judged movements of Sir John Moore proved him to be an Officer of Consummate Skill; & from what I could collect from a great number of Officers of this Army, that had Sir John Moore taken up one of many positions, but one was named in particular,¹ He might surely have defeated the French Army, before he so Signally performed this Gallant Atchievement outside the City of Corunna.—But there is much to be considered in the situation in which Sir John Moore was placed. The Spaniards ever were, & to us ever will be, a Faithless Ally.—They did not render the succour to our Army, on its retreat, or even before it, on any occasion that we had reason to expect, & to retreat to a point of assured Strength while the short supplies our Army possess'd would hold out was perhaps the most judicious course Sir John Moore could have pursued.—

The French Army were now, however, completely Defeated, & retired in much disorder. Our Army did not follow them beyond the Ravine which originally separated them, as the great object in our Army being brought to this point was to Embark for England, to quit this Faithless Ally, & again be

¹ i. e. during the retreat, the 'one in particular' is probably Lugo; cf. Oman, i. 573 ff.

ready to make an equal Noble effort in the just Cause of their Country.—

The Gallant Sir John Moore fell in this Gloriously well fought Battle, & the Second in Command, Sir David Baird, was desperately Wounded¹ by a Grape Shot passing through his left Arm so high up that a Tournicate could not be placed on the stump so as to Amputate.—The French were now decidedly off, having had enough of the British Bayonet & its cool & steady management, and we now began to Embark,² first the Wounded & worn out Troops.—My station was the Sally Port of the Citadel, opposite to which the French took up a short position, with a few twelve Pounder Guns.—I had fortunately completed the Embarking of all the Wounded & Troops that had arrived at this point, when the Enemy, I conclude, had discovered my person at this very conspicuous spot, opposite to which their three Guns had taken up the position before mentioned.—My position was on a Rock, & though I cared little for the chance of a Ball striking my Person, yet as they struck the Rock close to me, & the Splinters of the Rock being

¹ Baird had been wounded just before Moore fell (cf. Fortescue, vi. 383), the command therefore devolved on Sir John Hope, afterwards fourth Earl Hopetoun.

² The embarkation began on the evening of January 16 and was completed by the 18th, when Beresford's rear-guard went on board.

as deadly as the Shot itself, Fled like Hail in every direction round me.¹—On the high Parapet above me of the Citadel, which the Enemy's Shot could not reach, were many Officers of our Army, calling to me to leave my situation, as the Embarkation had ceased at this time. But Brave as they had proved themselves this day, & judicious as was their call, I could not do that in this instance which I had never before put in practice, 'Evade the Fire of the Enemy.'—

My Dispatch boat now arrivd at the Sally Port of the Citadel with the Information that Sir David Baird had arrived on board my Ship, & was desperately Wounded, but would not submit to any Surgical Operation until my arrival on Board.²—I got into my Boat direct, & I am aware the Enemy saw this with their Spy Glasses, & plied me with Shot for some time, the Shot forcing the water into the Boat in quantities by falling close alongside, but not one hit her.—My Ship & others closer in Shore, seeing

¹ Most accounts represent this firing as having taken place about noon on January 17.

² In the *Life of Sir D. Baird* already mentioned (cf. p. 138) there is no mention of Carden or of the part he describes himself as having taken in the operation, but it speaks of Baird's going on board the *Ville de Paris*, 'in which ship he had previously arranged to embark for England': the account of the operation, given on pp. 329–33 of vol. ii, should be compared with Carden's narrative, from which it differs in several minor particulars.

my case was Imminent, open'd their Fire from their Forecastle Guns & soon drove the French from their position.—Yet the French in a more sheltered position opened a Fire upon the Transports in the head of the Bay. Many Cut their Cables, some to seek fresh Anchorage clear of Shot, while others run on the Rocks clear of Gun Shot, & having done much Mischief among our Transports the French Artillery retreated to the main body of their Army, who now had decidedly retreated on their resources, for they could get no Sustenance at the Point to which they had advanced.—

Having now arrived on board, as no further Embarkation was to take place until the night, I found the Gallant Sir David Baird in my Cabin, & his Clothes saturated with Blood.—My first Lieutenant had made the Signal for all Surgeons, by the Admiral's permission, & every Army Surgeon we could get was also brought on board.—The Surgeon of my Ship was considered a Celebrated Amputator, & had on Examining Sir David Baird's Wounds pronounced that no chance for Life was left but by taking the Arm bone out of the Socket of the Shoulder Bone ; and in which all the Medical Men agreed, & by all of them it was left to my Surgeon to perform the Operation.—

There was much swell in the Bay from the rough Weather outside, & the Ship had much Motion.

The General strongly requested me to hold him while the operation was being performed, as he said, 'I know you have always your Sea Legs on Board.—I soon saw my way of being thus far useful. I had the back cut off a Chair, on which I placed the General, & sat myself on another with the back on, & with two of my Barge's Crew on each side felt I had perfect security against the Motion of the Ship.—

Being all quickly in readiness, my Surgeon began to Scalp the Stump of the Arm, & I never can forget his Confident ejaculation, 'Upon my word, General, you have such good Nerve & so patient under the Knife, that I am certain that no one will know in a short time that an Arm had ever grown out of your Shoulder ; Oh, surely it will be a neat Job.' ¹—

The General Smiled at the Speech of my Irish Surgeon,² but all he had said he performed, & the truth of his Statement was ultimately Verified.—It was a Grand lesson I had now learn'd in the Heroic Calmness displayed by the General during this painful operation.—During the Cutting & Carving of his Limb he coolly conversed with me on our former Services together, & made much remark on

¹ The *Life* speaks of Baird as having 'sat leaning his right arm on a table' through the operation.

² The *Life of Baird* puts this story very differently.

the extraordinary circumstance of our meeting on this occasion.—And I can assert that the only Wince he gave during the operation was when the Sycratix which keeps the Arm bone in the Socket of the Shoulder was cut.—My Surgeon worked quick & well, & we soon had the Brave General laid safe in my Cot & with every comfort a Ship could afford.—I placed my Servants in due course of attendance; and having made all due arrangements also for the Consul General of Spain & his Family, who were now Embarked, in the Middle Cabin, I returned to the Shore to make the final exertion, in conjunction with my Brother Officers, to separate from this Faithless Ally (Spain) those Gallant Troops who found & the World are aware of the Truth—‘That a Faithless Ally is worse than a declared Rebel’.—We laboured hard to get all Embarked this night. I had Patrols through the thoroughfares of the City for stragglers & brought all we could meet to the Boats.—

General Beresford, who remained to the last to promote the Embarkation, had got a number of the Army to a small Bay on the outside of the City, & had in my absence ordered a number of Boats there to Embark them, & having a Seaman’s Eye on this subject I hastened in my Boat to this Spot & expostulated with General Beresford on the Impossibility of his plan succeeding; and in proof

of my opinion many of the Boats were Swamped in the heavy Surf setting into this Bay & several of the Seamen & Troops were Drowned.—Seeing in this instance was believing, & the General at my remonstrance ordered the Troops to march back through the City to the Sally Port where I had previously appointed.—And to make sure of my position, on which the Enemy had again opened a few Guns, a Transport which had run on the Rocks just outside the said Sally Port to escape the Fire of the Enemy's Guns the previous Morning I had ordered one of my Boats to set on Fire, as she never could have been got off.—And by the time I returned to this point of Embarkation with all the Boats, as we came up quick with Sea & wind, so strong was the Fire of this Vessel between us & the Enemy's Guns, that they could not observe our movements, & all was got off in undisturbed Order.—

On reaching my Ship, & having the report made of the numbers Embarked on this very sad occasion, I found the numbers to be Two Thousand Three Hundred Men & Women, & with my Officers & Crew of Eight hundred & Fifty, gave me a total of Three Thousand one hundred & Fifty Men in one Ship.—Among the Troops were many of the Wounded in the previous day's Battle, & who were all well & duly attended to by our Combined Medical departments.—And to every one, by the resources

of such a Ship, every comfort was available, & all hands had well Cooked & hot Breakfast & Dinner.—

At Day light the Admiral made the Signal to Weigh Anchor, & my Signal to bring up the Rear of the Fleet.—On passing a point of Land outside the Garrison, I beheld a number of our Soldiers, waving Caps & handkerchiefs. I soon made out what they were. I backed the Main Top Sail & sent the Boats on Shore; They soon return'd with Seventy Men, who as they confessed had got into Wine Cellars, drank more than they ought, & Slept the Night.—They heard of the Fleet Sailing, & rushing out collected on this Point with the Hope of being observed & taken on Board.—I was glad to rescue such Noble fellows from the discomfiture that must have awaited them, as the French entered Corunna the second day after our departure. And I now had the Satisfaction to believe that only one of this Brave Army remained to fall into the Clutches of the Enemy, & this was a fine Soldier, who being Shot through the Body, & was in a House where I found him on making my last Search for Stragglers, he Exclaimd, 'Sir, let me remain, I cannot live long, & if the French Kill me it will release from my sufferings,' & there I left him, as he requested.—

On gaining the Sea, on or about the 23rd January 1809, the Weather became very Boisterous, and the

Sea in the Bay of Biscay which we had to Cross was Tremendous, & sure I am that many of the Miserable Transports, with our Brave Troops in them, were hurled into the Gulf of Eternity.¹—But no mention was made of it in a Publick way, & all were too busy in self Preservation to Notice the Attendant Destruction that Surrounded the ill found & ill managed Transports on this Service.—In my Noble Ship, with my Thousands on board, I cared little for the Tempest & made the Eddystone light, (the Fleet being all separated) in due time, & should have put into Plymouth had not the Wind veered to North from blowing hard at East.—I then run for Portsmouth, where I anchored in better Condition & more real comfort to all than could be expected.—

We had Embarked by our Calculation from Corunna Twenty four Thousand² Troops; how many arrived safe I know not, but believe there were many casualties from the Boisterous state of the Weather.—

I now proceeded to refit the Ship with all Expedition & to take Stores on board for Foreign

¹ As a matter of fact only two transports were lost, one with sixty of the 7th Hussars, the other with some 200 of the King's German Legion; cf. Oman, i. 596.

² Oman (i. 646–8) puts the number disembarked at rather over 26,000, but from this one must deduct 3,200 for the brigades under Craufurd which embarked at Vigo—this makes Carden's figure fairly near accuracy.

Service, all the Artificers, Caulers,¹ Painters, &c &c hard at work on board from the Dock Yard, & as soon as I had reported the Ship ready for Sea, I received the Order in Appendix N^o 3. from the Board of Admiralty.—I proceeded forthwith in pursuance of my Orders, and taking by Order the *Hibernia* of equal Force under my Orders, & when in the Chops of the British Channel I fell in with Lord Gambier,² with his Flag in the *Caledonian*³ of 110 Guns, who had just Dispatched the Gallant Admiral Duckworth⁴ with several Ships of the Line to the West Indies in pursuit of a French

¹ *Sic.* MS. : ? 'caulkers'.

² Cf. note to p. 80.

³ Generally called *Caledonia*. She was of 2,616 tons, launched at Devonport in 1808, and therefore quite new as well as the largest ship in our fleet.

⁴ Sir J. T. Duckworth (1748–1817) : Rear-Admiral 1799, Vice-Admiral 1804, Admiral 1810. He had commanded the squadron which destroyed the French squadron under Leisségues off San Domingo in January 1806 (cf. James, iv. 101–8), and also commanded the fleet sent against Constantinople in February 1807, a venture which proved a complete fiasco (*ibid.* iv. 216–17, and Laird Clowes, v. 219–31). The squadron which had escaped was that of Willaumez, eight sail of the line with smaller craft, which got out of Brest on February 21, 1809, in heavy weather which had driven Gambier off the port. The French made for Rochefort to pick up reinforcements before proceeding to the West Indies, but were engaged by Stopford and blockaded in Basque Roads, where they were attacked by Cochrane (Lord Dundonald) in April. Duckworth was detached from the fleet off Brest before Gambier learnt that Willaumez had gone to Rochefort.

Squadron, who had escap'd from their Ports & the Vigilance of our Fleets.—I mention this as a Singular circumstance, as on this Spot & Time the Three largest Ships in the British Navy met by Chance in the same Spot, & not a Sail of any other description in sight.—

Having paid my Respects to Lord Gambier I proceeded with the *Hibernia* to Cadis. I had a fair passage, & on our arrival there found Rear Admiral Purvis, Who gave me Orders to proceed to Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorcha,¹ In which Port I should find Lord Collingwood. The *Hibernia* was detain'd at Cadis.—

I made a fair passage to Minorcha, & there found Lord Collingwood, & having given & receivd the Necessary Salute, I receivd his Orders to take the Command of His Majestys Ship *Ocean* of 98 Guns & consequently resign the Command of the *Ville De Paris*, which was to bear the Flag of Lord Collingwood. The *Ocean* was a worn out Ship on this Station and requir'd a thorough repair.²—

I must here mention that at this time Captain Bennett, M.P., Commanded the *Fame*, at Minorcha, a first Class 74 Gun Ship, & was call'd on by his Constituents to attend his place in Parliament on

¹ i. e. Minorca.

² She had been serving as Collingwood's flagship, but had not been engaged in any of the chief battles of the war.

particular business.—And it was now offer'd to me to take Command of the *Fame*, to remain in the Mediteranean, & Captain Bennett to return to England in Command of the *Ocean*, which Ship must be paid off on her Arrival in England.—

Lord Collingwood acceded to Captain Bennett's request, but my Consent was necessary.—And though flatterd and Honor'd by the Command of one of the finest 74 Gun Ships in our Navy, still I felt, & knew, that my standing as a Post Captain would not allow of my holding such a Ship in Permanent Command.—My standing as Post Captain was that of a Frigate-Captain, & my Ambition was to Command one, Therefore I declin'd to take Command of the *Fame* & did return to England in Command of the *Ocean*.—We all know what is, but we know not what might be under other circumstances.—It afterwards appear'd it might have turn'd up more fortunate to my prospects had I taken Command of the *Fame*. Still, none of us can see far ahead, & trusting in a good Providence I hope & believe ultimately it will prove that, 'whatever is, is right.' With this feeling I am quite content with what is.—

I reach'd Cadis Harbour soon after leaving Minorcha, where I was sometime detain'd by Order of Admiral Purvis.—I had receivd very much attention from the *Grandeos* at Cadis, & in

return gave them a splendid Dejuné a la Fouchette & a Ball, at which all the Grandees of Cadis, Sir Godfrey Webster, our Minister in that Country, & his Lady, & all the Elite of the Port & Place.— All went off well; a Ship Ball was a Novelty, & they all returnd on Shore in high Glee with the experience of Naval Hospitality.—

Shortly after I returnd to England with a Convoy, & had awfully Boisterous Weather in the Bay of Biskay, so severe as almost to Alarm the Stoutest mind as to the safety of the worn out Hull of the Ocean, which complaind so much, that my readers, if not old Sailors, would, & could not, comprehend our danger. However, we enter'd the Port of Plymouth in Safety, & in due time paid the Ocean off.—

This Occurd about August 1810, & on the 3rd day of September¹ Receiv'd my Commission to Command His Majesty's Ship Mars, Sister Ship to the Fame of 74 Guns, then in the Baltic Sea.² (See

¹ The commission is dated July 7, and a comparison with the dates of the next commissions (cf. Appendices 4, 5 and 6) seems to leave very little time for his journey to the Baltic and back if it was only on September 3 that he received orders to go thither.

² A squadron had been sent up the Baltic in May 1808 under Vice-Admiral Sir James Saumarez to escort a force under Sir John Moore to Sweden, in order to assist the King of Sweden against the attack with which he was threatened by Russia. The expedition proved a fiasco (cf. Fortescue, vi. 127-37), and Sweden shortly afterwards joined France and Russia against England. Saumarez and his squadron therefore remained in the Baltic,

Appendix N^o 4.) Her Captain, Lukin, was an M.P., & who afterwards took the name of Wyndham.— He wanted to retire from his Ship on Leave to attend his Seat in Parliament, & the reader may be well assur'd this Captain, as well as the Captain of the *Fame*, were of the Party in Power, or they would not have been thus Accomodated.—

I was order'd to repair to North Yarmouth, where the Admiral there Orderd a Sloop of War to Convey me to the Baltic, & in which I arrivd at Gottenburgh¹ in due time.—This Roadstead, though a Port of Sweden, & then at War with England, was the Port of Rendezvous for our Trade; for mind you, reader, though the Northern Powers were oblig'd to acquiesce with Buonaparte & declare War against Great Britain, Such War was not carried on or Executed with that Vigour exacted in those parts more under the Immediate Eye of the French Emperour.—

The Senior Officer at Gottenburgh having detain'd the Sloop of War I arriv'd in to take a Convoy through the Great Belt up the Baltic, I felt very anxious to join my Noble Ship, & it was engaged in the protection of British trade and in hampering that of the countries which had accepted the 'Continental System'; this was a most valuable and important piece of work, and is very well described by Captain Mahan in his sketch of Saumarez in *Types of Naval Officers*; cf. also *The Letters of Sir T. Byam Martin*, published by the Navy Records Society, especially vol. ii.

¹ i. e. Göteborg.

currently reported that the Russian Fleet would Venture out before the Baltic Sea was Frozen in to give the British Fleet Battle, under Admiral Sir James Saumarez.¹—I therefore consulted with the person who had been British Consul at Gottenburgh before the War, & who seem'd worthy of Confidence, how I could get through Sweden quick, & by taking the Sea opposite the Gulph of Finland, which was no great distance for a good open Boat, Proceed to join my Ship, who was then one of the Fleet Blockading that Gulph.—

I warmly conceivd the chance of a Battle in such a Ship worth every Risk, & by the late Consuls recommendation & arrangement I purchacd a Certificate of American Citizenship, & taking my Luggage, which containd my Commission, Sword, & Uniforms, I purchased a Carriage at Gottenburgh, & having the Custom House Seals on my Luggage, proceeded as an American to Travel through Sweden.—

I started from Gottenburgh at early dawn with good Posters (Every Superior person in Sweden on the Roads are oblig'd to supply Post Horses for Travellers), & the whole of the way we were well Hors'd.—We chang'd Horses at Kengsbacha,² at

¹ James Saumarez (1757–1836): Rear-Admiral 1801, Vice-Admiral 1807, Admiral 1814, created a Baronet 1801, Baron de Saumarez 1831, commanded the squadron in the Baltic 1808–13.

² i.e. Kongsbacka, on the coast south of Göteborg.

Harbergh,¹ at Falkenbergh, at Walmstad, & at Christianstad. I do not recollect, but think we chang'd Horses at other places, but I never can forget Christianstad.—I here as usual sat in my Carriage, while I sent my Guide to the proper Office to have my passports examin'd and Counter-sign'd, & as he departed a Guard, as usual every where, was March'd up to detain us until his return with my passports.—Judge reader of my astonishment, as the party approach'd, to hear one of them whistling the well known Tune, ascrib'd to the Volunteer Corps in England, of 'Molly put the Kettle on'. On looking round, one of those Soldiers Exclaim'd, 'How do you do Mr Carden.' I replied, 'How can you know Mr Carden.' 'Oh! Sir, I know you very well, & a good Gentleman you always was to us. I was Butcher's Mate of the Formidable, when you was a Lieutenant of her.—I replied, I have given up the English Navy, & as a Merchant am travelling up your Country (He was a Swede) to get off to the Fleet Blockading the Gulph of Finland, to get the English Admiral to release one of my Ships, which he has detain'd under American Colours.'—'Oh! No! Sir, he Exclaimed, You never could leave the British Navy.'—He

¹ This must be Warberg on the road from Göteborg via Kongsbacka, Falkenberg, and Halmstad (not Walmstad) to Christianstad, which is on the east coast of Scania.

mutterd something to the Post Boy I could not understand, as also to those around him, and at this moment the Guide arriving with my Passports, I placd a few Rix Dollars into the Soldiers hand and told him to drink Success to my message to the English Admiral.—

We now set off in full speed.—I told the Guide of all that pass'd, when he became violently agitated, & frequently ejaculated, 'I must be Killd'.—I said, 'Be Calm, what then must become of me.' He said, 'We must have the Dragoons after us, & must be kill'd.'—However, we pass'd on through some small Towns at full Speed, until we approachd one calld Solwitsborgh,¹ when looking behind us, as we often did, we Saw at a distance, a party of Dragoons in full Gallop.—The expression in manner and countenance of my Guide is not to be describ'd, and I must admit I felt it a very awkward predicament, as having my Commission, Sword, & Uniforms among my Luggage, under the feignd name of Jonathan Williams, & an American, I must according to the Law of Nations Suffer Death as a Spy, thus passing through a Nation, & with whom at War; & of course my Guide felt his liability to like Punishment.—Being now close to the Town of

¹ i. e. Sölvesborg (or Solvitsborg), a town on the coast between Christianstad and Carlsrona, the head-quarters of the Swedish Navy.

Solwitsborgh, the Guide exclaim'd, 'I have one chance, My Friend has the Tan Yard close to us, if the Gates are open we will drive in and Shut them, & the Dragoons will pass on in pursuit.'—Reader, do reflect on the ways of Providence.—The Gates were open, we drove in & Shut them, Hid by a turn in the Road from the sight of the Dragoons, who rode right on, & the moment they had pass'd, out we went, you may be assur'd double quick Speed, for the nearest Shore of the Baltic Sea, two miles distant, and got to a Fishing Town.—We here found several Boats on the Beach, & my Guide plac'd me & my Luggage in one of the best. He went in search of a Crew, and in this interval of time I got my Sword out of my Luggage.—The Guide soon returnd with two Men, a Jug of Milk, one of Water, & some Bread. I acceded to all the Demands of the Swedish Crew, & though not far enough North to reach the Fleet, then off the Gulph of Finland, I could well reach the second in Command in Hano¹ Bay.—We now put to Sea in our open Boat, & we reachd Hano Bay on the third day, when the detail of our adventure much amus'd all the Fleet there, & very much gratified me & my Guide by our safe arrival.—

The Sloop of War I came in to Gottenbergh had not yet arrivd in Hano Bay, & a Ship of the Line

¹ Probably Hango Bay in Swedish Finland.

was order'd to join the Fleet in the Gulph of Finland, & I order'd a passage in her to join the Mars.—In two days we made out our Fleet at Anchor, when it came on a dense Fog. We were also oblig'd to Anchor, & having taken the Bearings of the Fleet, the Captain gave me a Six Oard Boat with a Compass in her, & off I set to join my Ship, & by the sound of their Musquetry, Bells, & Drums, as usually had recourse to in dense Fogs, got alongside the Mars & on her Quarter Deck before they were aware of her future Captain approaching.—Captain Lukin receivd me with great kindness, & was much gratified at his release from this most Monotenous Blockade. But I was now sorry to hear there was no Hope of the Russians quitting their strong hold with their Fleet in Port here before the Winter & the consequent Block up of this Sea by Ice. Soon after taking Command of this Ship I found myself at home in her, & was order'd single Ship to Blockade the Swedish Port of Calscrone,¹ from whence a Ship of the Line, or perhaps two, were said to be about to Sail.—

I had been off this Port on this Service about a week, when a Seaman by the name of Brinkhurst (from what motive must ever be a Secret in this World) in the middle of the night watch Cut the Breechings & Tacles of a number of the lower

¹ Carlsrona.

Deck Guns, long 32 pounders, thereby seriously Endangering the Ship.—The Master at Arms in going his rounds caught the Man in the Act, brought him Prisoner on the Quarter Deck & reported the case.—We directly beat to Quarters; the Guns began rolling about the Decks, but by keeping the Ship on the same Tack, quickly getting the Fighting Lanterns in their places, & the Men's Hammocks cut down to block the movements of the Guns, all was made secure & the Ship relieved from a serious Evil.—I plac'd the Culprit in Irons, being too serious a Crime for Summary Punishment, & the next day, while taking his hour of exercise, he escap'd the Eye of his Centinel, jump'd through the Stern Port & was Drownd.—

I now receivd Orders to proceed to Hano Bay, & from thence with the Hero, 74 Guns, Captain Newman, my Senior Officer, proceed to England with Convoy.—We had nearly got clear of the Great Belt before the Danish Gun Boats made any attack. The Hero having cleard the Belt, I was nearly becalmd with the Sternmost of the Convoy, but in close order, & was obligd to Anchor with Springs on our Cable, when Fifteen of these heavy Danish Gunboats came to the Attack.—We were well prepar'd, & the day was fast closing in.—Waiting the advantage of their daring approach, when having Sprung the Ship, we opend on them

an awful Broadside, which did them such Damage that the few of them left took to their Sweeps & Escap'd. When we soon got a Breeze & join'd the Hero.—We proceeded on to the Coast of Norfolk without any particular incident. But on reaching the back of Yarmouth Sands I felt very Confident of my Ships reconing & Situation, & finding the Hero running direct for the Sands, in the middle of the night, I hauld off, as did most of the Convoy of Merchant Ships.—By chance, & good Fortune, the Hero spoke a Collier Brig, bound to the Southward, who told her that the Yarmouth Sands were close to them, when the Hero hauld off in time & was Sav'd.—

I must here remark that the Hero, Captain Newman, returnd direct to the Baltic, & on her return with the Junior Admiral¹ on that Station, His Flag in a three deck'd Ship,² in October in this Year, when the Frost had impeded the Navigation of the Baltic, & with a third Ship of the Line³ in Company, the whole Three Ships were Wreck'd on the Coast of Jutland, in a very Violent Storm, when the whole of the Officers & Crews with the exception of Seventeen Men were Drownd, which amounted to near Eighteen hundred persons.—⁴

¹ Rear-Admiral Robert Carthew Reynolds, promoted to that rank April 1808.

² The *St. George* 98.

³ The *Defence* 74.

⁴ Cf. James, v. 231-2. His account differs slightly from that

Having in my Ship seen the Convoy to their several destinations, I proceeded to Spithead, where I receivd Orders from the Admiralty to put myself under the Orders of Lord Gambier, who now Commanded the Channel Fleet. (See Appendix N^o 5.)—And was by Lord Gambier order'd to proceed to Lisbon, & place myself under the Orders of the Honb^{le} George C. Berkeley,¹ (See Appendix N^o 6.)

On my arrival at Lisbon I found I had to take a Tour of Duty in Command of a number of Gun Boats, to occasionally attack & give every anoyance to the French Army at Santarem, Commanded by the French General, Massena, now oppos'd to Lord Wellington, then in the Lines of Torres Vedras, outside Lisbon.—In this my first Tour on this Important & Arduous Duty I had my mode of proceeding somewhat Explaind by Lord Hill,²

given by Carden: he represents the *St. George* and *Defence* as having been lost off the western coast of Jutland on December 24, 18 men only of their crews surviving. The *Hero*, he says, was lost on December 25, but off the Texel, 12 of her men escaping, the total loss being nearly 2,000 persons. The *Hero* was not in company with the other two ships having sailed from Göteborg whereas they had sailed from Wingo Sound.

¹ Carden's old captain in the *Marlborough*: cf. p. 63.

² The title is ante-dated. Rowland Hill (1772–1842), at this time a Major-General in command of the Second Division of Wellington's Peninsular army, was given the K.B. in 1812, created Baron in 1814 and Viscount in 1842.

who Commanded the right wing of the British Army, & consequently opposd to the Left Wing of General Massena's, on which we had to play our Game, & found on the first night's attack that the Enemy were well on the Alert, & not dispos'd to admit our Interference with Impunity.—But I well knew we had harrass'd them much.—I continued during my Tour on this Service to ply the French Left wing with plenty of Round & Grape Shot, & did observe a slackness in the Enemies resistance.—

My Tour on this Service being ended, I retir'd to my Ship when reliev'd.—On my next Tour on this Gunboat Service I felt more Confidence, by my having in the Interim made myself more acquainted with the surrounding Shores & the relative situation of the Contending Armies.—The Gunboats were Chiefly Employd by night, except some straying parties exceeded their usual limits.—

During my second Tour on this Service I found each night the French made less opposition, & found Assur'd ¹ that Lord Wellington's grand scale of arrangements had truly frustrated the Enemies prospects, & I was feign to believe by help of my Spy Glass each morning that we had done their position much injury, & in which Lord Hill was pleas'd to express his Affirmation.—

¹ *Sic* MS.

As soon as I was again reliev'd I proceeded to Lisbon, Hird Mules, & proceeded to the Head Quarters of Lord Wellington to pay my respects.— And as I was sent out on purpose to attend his Army, I now Congratulated him on the Confident feeling that He would not Visit the Ships with his Army at present.—And that as such was my Confident opinion, I had come to advantage by this only probable opportunity to pay Him my respects.— I was received very Graciously. He was pleas'd to Order two of his Aids du Camp to shew me the Lines of the British Army from whence I could look into the Enemies Position, & I felt assur'd from what I saw that no attack could have been made by the French on Lord Wellington's Position without certain Defeat of the Enemy. I should say that a Cat could hardly have advancd without being destroy'd.—

I returnd to Head Quarters, & had the Honor of a hurried Dinner with his Lordship. When I Explain'd to him that the only possible means the Enemy had left to anoy us was by sending a Train of Artilery along the Alemtego¹ Shore, where we had not a Gun or Man to oppose them,² and on

¹ i. e. Alemtejo, the province south of the Tagus.

² Early in November 1810 Wellington had sent Fane's Portuguese cavalry and a battalion of Caçadores (light infantry) over to the left bank of the Tagus to keep watch against the French crossing to that quarter; cf. Oman, *Peninsular War*, iii. 462.

their reaching opposite Lisbon they would Cripple or Destroy our Shipping, who could not elevate their Guns to drive them from such purpose on the heights; & also that the Arsenal of Lisbon might thus be effectually Bombarded by them.—

I returnd the same night to my Ship, & had the satisfaction to observe, in two days after, a Thousand Men at work constructing a strong Battery on the part of the Shore opposite Lisbon I had pointed out.¹—And I feel assur'd that the French, being well aware of this Caution having been taken, causd their more early Retreat from Santarem.—(See Appendix N^o 7.)—

However this may have been, shortly after, off the French Army did set one good night,² under the light of their Camp Fires, & off in due course went our Army in pursuit.—And now my good Reader I must request you to look to History for the Glorious results.—Shortly after the Retreat of the French Army from before Lord Wellington I was Orderd to

¹ Carden is a little inclined to take the credit for this to himself, but about the beginning of December Wellington was inspecting the ground on that side of the Tagus (cf. Wellington's *Dispatches*, vii. 31), and when Massena fell back from immediately in front of the Lines to Santarem a large number of labourers were transferred to the left bank of the Tagus, the Almada lines were sketched out and their construction began (cf. *ibid.* p. 131, and Oman, *Peninsular War*, iv. 73).

² Massena's retreat from the Santarem position began on March 9, 1811.

England, when on my arrival a Senior Officer was appointed to Supercede me in Command of the Mars.—But while laying in Cawsand Bay for my Successor's arrival, I had been on board in the Morning, & could not return on Shore to Dinner owing to a heavy S.W. Gale which had set in, & the Wardroom Officers Invited me to Dine with them, which I accepted.—While taking our Wine after Dinner one of the Officers' Servants had occasion to go into his Master's Cabbin just behind where I sat, & on my looking round observ'd Smoak issueing from the Seams in the Ships sides.—I directly Orderd one of the Lieutenants to go below & to inspect, so as to find out the cause.—He very shortly return'd, & in a quick whispering Tone of Voice said, ' Sir, the Ship is on Fire in the Bread Room '. I started up, Order'd to beat to Quarters, & Firemen to pass Water to the Bread Room.—I got myself direct to the Scene of the Fire: I attempted to rush in, but the Smoak was too powerful, & I thought me on creeping in on my hands & knees under the Smoak. In this effort I was successful, & was well & quickly followd by my Officers & Crew, & the Water was pass'd in regular and abundant stile by the Gangs of Firemen.—I now found the Cheese Rack built round the after Magazine on Fire.—We had taken this dread Enemy on Ship board in the last moment of Time,

for a few minutes later would have decided our Fate in this World.—Well & strong did the Officers & Crew perform their Duty, & by their great exertion the Fire was totally Subdued.—But judge you, reader, of our very narrow escape, the Bulk heads, or boarding of the after Magazine of filld Powder for the aftermost part of the Ships Cannon, was here Stowd.—However, God's Mercy Savd us, & that Mercy which detain'd me on board was the means perhaps by which the Ship & the many of her Crew was Savd from Destruction, & most likely others of the Fleet, for we were Moord close to several Ships of the Line in Cawsand Bay, who would very probably have Suffer'd from our Fire & explosion.—However, as the damage was entirely confind to the Bread Room, the expense or labour was not much in putting all in its original good Order.—

I was shortly after plac'd on Half Pay, by the arrival of my Successor, & retird to my Family, where it prov'd I was not long to remain, for on the fifth day of April 1811 (See Appendix N^o 8) I receivd my Commission to Command His Majesty's Ship *Macedonian*, then at Lisbon.—She was at that day a fine Frigate of 46 Guns, Eighteen Pounds on the Main Deck.¹—I proceeded by

¹ James (v. 394) gives the armament of the *Macedonian* as twenty-eight long 18 pounds on the main deck, sixteen 32 pounder

Order in the first Man of War going there to join my Ship, & on my arrival at Lisbon found Admiral Sir George C. Berkeley, who Commanded on that Station, had sent the Macedonian on a Six weeks' Cruise under the Command of his Son in Law, Captain George Seymour,¹ who previously Commanded a small Frigate on that Station.—The Vacancy in Command of the Macedonian was occasion'd by her late Captain having been dismiss'd the Service by a Court Martial for Tyranny & oppression, & consequently no good Seaman would stay in the Ship that could escape by Desertion, or would any Officer that could obtain removal to any other Ship.—But as the Dismiss'd Officer had the Title of Lord, He was soon again reinstated in the Service, with his previous Rank, & very soon got the Command of a Frigate of equal Force to the Macedonian.—I liv'd at the Admiral's Table during the absence of the Macedonian, & through whose kind attentions had a large Share in all the

carronades on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, with two long 12 pounders and two long brass French 8 pounders 'the captain's private property'. It is a little curious that Carden makes no mention of these last two, and perhaps James is in error in including them in the armament.

¹ George Francis Seymour (1787–1870), eldest son of Lord Hugh Seymour, fifth son of first Marquis of Hertford: Rear-Admiral 1841, Vice-Admiral 1850, Admiral 1857, Admiral of the Fleet 1866, K.C.H. 1831, G.C.H. 1834, G.C.B. 1860.

Gajeties of the place, which were great.—At length my Ship arrivd, and on which day I read my Commission on board.—I found her wanting in much refiting & very badly Man'd, but there was no means here to remedy the Evil, & to Complain would be deem'd a Fault.—As soon as I was as ready as means would admit I was Order'd on a few Weeks' Cruise along the Coast of Portugal, & on my return to Port was Orderd to join a strong Squadron of the Line, under the Command of Sir Phillip Durham,¹ on the Blockade of Rochford.²—On my joining the Squadron I was Orderd to Command the inshore look out on the Enemies Fleet & Port, Our Squadron being anchor'd five miles outside. I was to keep just outside the range of Shot & Shell of the Isle of Aix; sometimes I had a small Cruiser under my Orders, but generally alone.—And though I can aver that at no time did I ever feel a hardship in the execution of my Orders receivd, while actively Employ'd in carrying on any part of the Service, Yet I must say this was the most harrassing Duty I had at any time to perform.—All night we had to row Guard to meet the

¹ Sir Philip Durham (1763–1845) had been one of the officers of the *Royal George* when she sank at Spithead in 1781; he had served with much distinction in the French war and been wounded at Trafalgar; he had just been promoted Rear-Admiral in 1810.

² i. e. Rochefort.

probability of Fire Vessels, or Rafts, & all day Boats & Ship under weigh to intercept the Coasting Trade, so that on frequent occasions we were receiving & returning the Fire from the Enemies Forts along Shore from day light until Dark.—At young Flood Tides the Enemy were us'd to send out two Frigates to annoy my Ship, or if they thought a favorable moment appear'd, to make a combind attack, well knowing the Flood Tide would carry them into Port, but as we were always at Quarters & ready to Cut our Cables & make Sail, they always took Wit in their anger, & sheerd off.—They never ventur'd out on an Ebb Tide, for they knew they could not return to Port before we could bring them to Action.—The Coasters were enabled to Navigate so close under their Batteries along shore that no Capture had been made by any of my Predecessors. However, one Evening, having press'd some Vessels very severely with our Guns, a large Lugger took the Beach under a Battery.—I thought it possible to bring her out after night fall, & having collected Volunteers for this Service, My second Lieutenant Pechell¹ (now Captain Sir George Pechell, Bart., & M.P. for Brighton) was the Volunteer to Command the Boats.—At

¹ George Richard Brooke Pechell (1789–1860): Rear-Admiral 1852, Vice-Admiral 1858, M.P. for Brighton from 1835 to his death, succeeded as fourth Baronet 1849.

Eleven P.M. the Two Cutters, Boats, started, & the Enemy, expecting our approach, had the Vessel Moor'd by Chains to the Shore, & Field pieces of Cannon on the Beach, were thus assur'd of safety.—However, Lieutenant Pechell Boarded the Enemy in Gallant Stile, Carried the Vessel, & having the Armourer's Mate, a Volunteer, with Steel Chissel &c as expectedly requir'd, Cut the chains by which the Enemy was Moor'd to the Beach, Laugh'd at the Field Pieces playing on the Vessel, & brought her out in great Triumph.—

As soon as my Ship's Company had Breakfasted in the Morning, I got the Ship under weigh, & with our Prize stood close in, & along the Mouth of the Enemies Harbour, with the British Union flying over the French Flag, & then to our Squadron at Anchor, who Man'd the Prize, as I could not afford Men from my Ship for that purpose.¹—And for such ardent Service, the Squadron gave up their claim to share for the Prize to the Captors, though they were entitled to share, as being in sight.—In sight, I say, for the whole Line of Coast of Rochfort was in a blase of Fire from the Moment Lieutenant Pechel Boarded the Enemy until Daylight.—And had our Noble Iron Duke assaild them with a British Army they could not have display'd more alarm.—I remaind in this position & Service for

¹ There is no account of this action in James.

near two Months, from my first arrival off Rochfort, & then with the Squadron proceeded to Sea & to Cruise off the Coast of the Bay of Biscay.—We frequently communicated with Rochfort, but saw the Enemy in no way inclin'd to venture out.—At length I was again order'd to Lisbon, and after a Refit was Order'd with Seald Dispatches to proceed to the Chesapeake, for our Minister¹ at Washington, & I was expected to bring back a Heavy Freight of Money on Government & Merchants' Account. I reach'd there early in 1812, & sent my Dispatches on through the British Consul at Norfolk in Virginia, Colonel Hamilton, of that Rank in the British Army.—

I must here remark an odd occurrence.—On my arrival, & knocking at Colonel Hamilton's door, this old Officer happen'd to be in his Hall, & with the Servant came to the Door, & on looking at me, & before I Spoke, he Exclaim'd, ' Sir, your name

¹ This was Augustus John Foster (1780–1848), then a young man little over thirty, who had been appointed British Minister at Washington in February 1811. For over a year before his appointment the post had been vacant, as Francis James Jackson (1770–1814), who had been appointed to succeed D. M. Erskine (1776–1855, second Baron Erskine) in 1809, had fallen out with the United States Government shortly after his arrival (October 1809), with the result that diplomatic intercourse between him and the Government was suspended. Foster had previously served as Minister to Sweden and had acquitted himself very well in most difficult circumstances.

must be Carden.' I said, 'yes.' 'I knew it, he said. You must be the Son of Major Carden, whom I have so long serv'd with, & who always was my bosom Friend; the likeness is too strong to be mistaken.'—All this being Explaind, & duly Comprehended, I press'd the forwarding of my Dispatches, & made his House my Home until a return from our Minister at Washington.—

After a long waiting for a reply, in what I call'd a long Period, it at last came to say, 'That as War was sure to be the result of the deliberations of the President of the United States, they had recourse to the unjust measure of arresting my Dispatches, & on opening them, finding my object was to obtain Money, had put a total stop to the possibility of its being attainable.—Upon which Official Information I left the American Port & proceeded back to Lisbon.—This was early in the Year 1812, and on my arrival was order'd to proceed to Spithead, England, and to take the present Marquiss of Londonderry¹ as a passenger, He being then in Command of a Hussar Regiment² in the Army of

¹ Charles William Stewart, third Marquis (1778–1854). He succeeded his brother (best known as Lord Castlereagh) in 1822.

² This is inaccurate. He had commanded a brigade of Hussars in Moore's campaign in Spain, but on going out to the Peninsula again under Wellington had acted as Adjutant-General. It was in February 1812 that he was invalided home. He never com-

Lord Wellington.—We had a tedious passage to England, & on his Lordship's leaving the Macedonian on our Arrival, He express'd his gratification of the Comforts & attentions he had receiv'd, & ask'd me what in the way of the Naval Service he could do for me.—I replied that the Command of my then Ship was all I could wish for, but that I did not like being confin'd to the Lisbon station, & that the only possible circumstance that could add to my Ambition was, or could be, a Cruise in the Western Ocean, where chances would be more favorable to my future prospects.—A Proof how short sighted are the Creatures of this World.—

I was soon after Order'd to refit, & Victual the Ship to the extent she could stow, & to take an Indiaman under my Convoy, who was fill'd with Munitions of War & Troops for India.—Lord Melville,¹ the first Lord of the Admiralty, being now at Portsmouth, He told me very Emphatically how anxious he was This said Indiaman should be safely Convoy'd to a certain Latitude & Longitude on her way out, as then she would be clear of all

manded a cavalry brigade under Wellington. For his services in the Peninsula, cf. Wellington's letter of June 25, 1811, to the Duke of York (*Supplementary Dispatches*, vii. 165, also vii. 549 and viii. 413).

¹ Robert Saunders Dundas (1771–1851), succeeded his father as second Viscount Melville 1811. He served as First Lord of the Admiralty from 1812 to 1827.

probability of meeting an Enemy on her outward Voyage.—

Soon after this I receivd my final Orders from the board of Admiralty, which was To proceed with the Indiaman under my Convoy, & after seeing her in safety to a certain Latitude & Longitude designated, to keep the Sea in the Western Ocean, as long as my Provisions & Water would permit, & then return to Spithead.—On the India Ship arriving from Wolwich¹ at Spithead, I proceeded to Sea.—It came to blow a heavy Gale before we got abreast of Plymouth, & we were forc'd into Torbay.—The Wind in a few days chang'd suddenly to the Eastward, blowing hard, when finding I could not weigh the Anchor, I was oblig'd to Slip the Cable with a Buoy on it & proceeded to Sea with my Convoy.—This was in September 1812.²—We made a good passage to Madeira & but a short stay at that Port, & proceeded on our Voyage, & on the 22nd of October, having arriv'd at the destination Order'd, I parted Company with the Indiaman, who proceeded on her passage to India, where by subsequent advice she safely arrivd.—And the Macedonian proceeded to Cruise in the Western Ocean.—

I here shall explain *How*, & *why*, I decided to write this Memoir of my Life.—My good Friend,

¹ *Sic* MS.

² September 29 according to James, v. 395.

John S. Surman Esq^r of Swindon Hall, being informd by report that I was constructing the Model of a Frigate of seven feet long for a Neighbour of mine at Egham, and subsequently to me, express'd how much he should like such a thing.—The Hint was, from so much Esteem'd a Friend, sufficient for me to commence & complete his express'd wish.—In about Nine Months I had finish'd the Model Frigate, but it was at the sole expense of Mr. S. Surman, to the amount of Twenty seven Pounds, which Sum exceeded what I could spare from my Income in the way of Present. In July 1848 I proceeded with this Model Frigate to Swindon Hall, & with the assistance of a clever Mechanic in Mr Surmans Establishment, again Masted & Rigg'd the Model Frigate, as it was not possible to convey her from Egham with all her Masts & yards and end in safety.—Having during a long & happy Visit at Swindon Hall put the Model Frigate in due Order, I plac'd her in the Hall of his beautiful Mansion, & he was pleas'd to term it a pleasing Momento of the Capable Exertions of an Admiral 78 Years of Age.—

It was near the conclusion of my Visit at Swindon Hall, at Dinner with some of Mr Surmans Friends, when the Subject of the Frigate's Battle, Macedonian, with the United States, American Frigate (Hereafter to be Narrated) became the Topic of

Conversation, & I found by the Sentiment of one of the Company, that He or they little understood the true state of the subject in question.—I then said to Mr Surman, await my statement of this Battle, form no conclusions from what you have or may hear, Divest yourself of any Bias from Garbled Statements, which may either way exceed the true one, & I will give you Official Documents to Guide your Judgment.—

On my return to Egham, where I resided, I began on my profer'd Task.—But the thought struck me that I should please all my Connections with a detail of my Three Score & Eighteen Years of busy Action in this World, during which Period the Tide in the Affairs of Man have some claim from its here Exemplification.—

I now return to my Narrative, my parting with my Convoy on the 22nd of October, & until the 25th no Strange Sail was discernable from the Mast head.—But on which day, early in the Morning, a Stranger was discover'd ahead about four Leagues distant, & as she appear'd on a wind, I immediately alterd our Course so as to cut her off, & clear'd Ship for Action,¹ & very soon made her out to be

¹ Carden's account of the action between the *Macedonian* and the *United States* should be carefully compared with the versions given by James (v. 394-406), by Admiral Mahan (*Sea Power in the War of 1812*, i. 416-22), and by ex-President Roosevelt (in Laird Clowes, vi. 41-7).

a Ship of War, & on nearing her was astonish'd to perceive so large a Ship put her Helm up & run from us.¹—I now made all Sail, with a strong wind, in Chace of her,² & found I saild much faster than the Enemy, who now hoisted American Colours; & had I not sought Collision with her she never could have near'd us.³—At 9 A.M., being nerly abreast the Enemy, She fird her Brodside, which fell Short, she still running off the Wind.—As I neard her an unluckey Shot carried away our Mizen Top mast, which fell forward into the Main Top,

¹ James explains this by saying Decatur, the captain of the *United States*, mistook the *Macedonian* for a battle-ship. Mahan's explanation of Decatur's tactics is that he played a defensive game with great skill, taking advantage of Carden's error in coming up from astern which prolonged the approach and gave the *United States* a chance of using her 24 pounders at long range where their superiority to the 18 pounders of the *Macedonian* would tell most.

² According to Mahan, when the ships sighted each other the wind was SSE., the *Macedonian*, which was on the starboard tack, bore SSW. from the *United States*, which was on the opposite tack, steering about SW.

³ Mahan's account is that about 8.30 the *United States* wore so that the *Macedonian* was steering for her quarter and the *United States* was standing to cross her enemy's bows. David Hope, the first lieutenant, wanted to cross the American ship's bows and close with her, but Carden preferred to haul nearer the wind on the starboard tack, so as to keep the weather gage and avoid being raked, his idea being to wear when at a distance and come up from astern. About 8.45 Decatur wore again so that the ships passed each other out of range on opposite tacks, the *United States* firing an ineffectual broadside to which Carden did not reply.

& with it went our Spanker, & by this loss of Sail the Enemy had the Advantage of Sailing over the Macedonian.¹—It is not in the power of my Pen, or dictate, to express my feelings now awaken'd on this unfortunate Occasion, Fighting an Enemy who I soon found of too overwhelming a Force to Conquer.²—Observing my Comparatively small Masts & Yards cut in short pieces by the very Superior size & weight of the Enemies Guns & Shot, & seeing my Brave but comparatively small Crew falling about me in appalling numbers, In the midst of this more than desperate situation, I decided on the only possible chance (weak as it was) left me, to Board the Enemy.—I had only a shatter'd part of our Fore Sail left. The Top-masts & Main Yard Shot away, & the Enemy at short Pistol Shot distance on the Lee Beam.³—

¹ The *United States* was thereby enabled to keep a little ahead of her enemy, pouring in a very heavy diagonal fire which soon put all the quarter-deck and forecastle's carronades to starboard out of action. As Mahan says, the *Macedonian* was 'already beaten when she came alongside'. Had Carden come up in the wake of the *United States* he would have been much less exposed than he was by his approach to a parallel position which allowed the *United States* to bring more guns to bear.

² Cf. Appendix No. 9.

³ James adds that the mizen-mast had gone overboard, the lower masts were badly damaged, all the guns in the upper battery but two, as well as two in the main battery, were disabled, and the ship was rolling so badly, owing to the loss of her masts, that her main-deck guns were under water at each roll.

I hauld aft the Fore Sheet, got the Ship to pay off, & was all prepar'd to throw our Surviving Crew on board the Enemy, & decide our cause Sword in hand.—At the Moment our object was to be accomplish'd the Fore Sheet was Shot away. The Ship came too against the Helm, our object was thus frustrated, & as no other effort could be made my Ship lay an unmanageable Log on the Ocean.¹—

My Subsequent movements have been read in my Publick letter to the Admiralty, & the Secretary to the then Admiraltys (John Wilson Croker) Poetry on this Subject, the loss of the *Macedonian*, will give some Idea of the Spirit of feeling on this Occasion. (See Appendix N^o 10 & 11.)

I must now have recourse to Circumstances immediately after my Surrender.—The Boats of the *Macedonian* were all disabled by Shot, & the falling of our Masts, which as they were Shot away, all fell inboard, & thus very much Crippled our operations even during the Battle.—The Enemy sent a Boat & Officer to take me on board the *Victor*, & on my Arrival on his Quarter Deck

¹ According to James the *United States* crossed the bows of the *Macedonian*, but without firing a shot, having expended all her cartridges. She hove to out of gun-shot to refit rigging and refill cartridges, and then tacking took up a position under the stern of the *Macedonian*, ready to rake her. On this Carden struck.

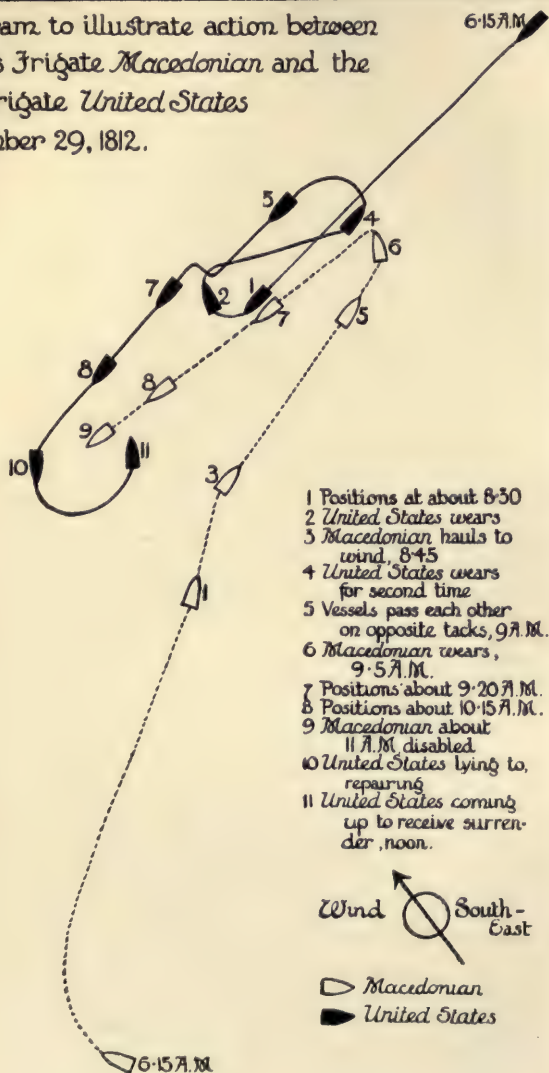
I presented to her Captain my Sword, being the Customary mode of & routine in acknowledging Defeat & Surrender.—But the Commander of the Enemies Ship, Commodore De Cator,¹ declind to receive my Sword, the Honor of which, He Proclaimd, I had so Nobly Defended against so greatly superior a Force, & again remark'd 'I can have no Credit for the Capture of so Inferior a Ship, but you, Captain Carden, will obtain much credit from your Country for the Noble Defence you have made against the Superior Force I Command'. And then turning round to his Marines, who were the only Native Americans in his Ship,² & all Rifle Men, He exclaimd, 'You call yourselves Rifle Men, & have allow'd this very Tall & Erect Officer, on an open Quarter Deck to escape your Aim.—

Had he been better acquainted with the true state of this point of their Exertion, & that of the Howitser Cannon mounted in each of their Tops, he might have been content & spar'd himself the remark.—For out of Fifty two Officers & Men Quarterd on my quarter Deck, only eight & myself Escap'd Death or being desperately Wounded.—The Enemies Ship soon sent a gang of Men on board

¹ Stephen Decatur.

² Mr. Roosevelt (Laird Clowes, vi. 44) says that the crew of the *United States* was mainly composed of native Americans.

Diagram to illustrate action between
H.M.'s Frigate *Macedonian* and the
U.S. Frigate *United States*
September 29, 1812.



their Prize, & took the Hulk of the Macedonian in Tow, with Seven feet water in her Hold from Shot holes under water.—But with such a Crew on board the American, of very first rate *British Seamen*, no obstacle stood in the way of being overcome. And very soon the said Crew with their Officers got Jury Masts Rigg'd, plug'd up the Shot holes, freed the Ship from water in a few days time, & now Sailing nearly as well as the Capturing Ship made rapid progress to the Coast of America.—

I must here & always bear testimony to the markd Gentlemanly Conduct of Commodore De Cator.—

I was always alive to the chance that some of our Cruisers might Cross our Course to the Enemies Port & recapture the Macedonian.—But NO!!—We were nearly one Month¹ on the American Coast, & never saw a British cruiser.—It cannot be my business to Scrutinise the Conduct of Superior Officers, but surely blame was somewhere Imputable.—And from subsequent Information it was surely so.—But for me, suffice it to say the United States American Frigate, if such she may be term'd, & her Prize, the Macedonian, arrivd safe in the Port of New London, where all the Prisoners were Landed.—I proceeded to the House of the late British Consul, Mr. Stewart, the Officers to Lodgings,

¹ It was not till December 4 that the *United States* and her prize made New London.

all on Parole of Honor, & the Crew to Prison Barracks.—

Perhaps this may be the most proper place to give the Reader an exact Statement of the Force, in Size of Ship, weight & number of Guns, & number of Crew, of the United States American Ship of War, & the Macedonian.—And which the Reader will find Authentically Stated in Appendix N^o 9.—

Whoever reads, & considers the overwhelming Superiority of the Enememies Force, whether Seaman or Landsman, will be enabled to account for the result of this Battle. The Crew of the Enemy (not Including Officers and Marines) amounting to Four Hundred, were all¹ British Seamen, who had been trained up under our Greatest Naval Chiefs, & I am possitive when I assert that an equal number of Prime Seamen could not at that day be found in any first class Ship & the best Man'd in our Navy.—Nor was it that they were Seamen only, but they were Men pick'd from their weight & Inches, very far surpassing the general Stature of Seamen, which tells much in the working of heavy Cannon.—I recognis'd many of the Enemies Crew whom during my Time at Sea I had met or were Shipmates, & the Survivors of my Crew found more than their number, by whom they were Haild as old Shipmates or Messmates.—

¹ Roosevelt denies this, but admits the presence on board the *United States* of a good many deserters from the British Navy.

One of my Crew¹ found his Brother as one of the Crew of the Enemy, & was strongly Invited by him to join the American Navy.—But his reply to his Brother was, ‘If you have thought proper to be a Scoundrel to your Country, it shall not be a reason for me to be one also.’²—

I spoke to one Man whom I clearly recognis’d, now among the Crew of the Enemies of his Country, When he coolly replied, ‘There is no Impressment in this Service, I have Enlisted for Three Years only, when I can claim my Discharge, & I get double the Pay to a half Penny to what is given in the British Navy, & such Pay I can always obtain, when the Ship comes into Port.’—One of my Quarter Masters, on the Court Martial on Me, my Officers, & Crew for the loss of our Ship, Made Oath that he had serv’d his time as an Apprentice to the Sea with Seventeen of the American Crew, out of the Ports of Shields, & Newcastle.—

Many other distressing circumstances of recognition took place, but the most Direfully distressing was as follows.—On my Entering Commodore De Catur’s Cabbin I observ’d the Guns on the Main Deck had each a Name, wrote on the Ships side, immediately over each, And observing one to be

¹ James gives his name as William Hearne.

² James’s version is, ‘If you are a damned rascal, that’s no reason I should be one.’

Nam'd Nelson (! ! !), And the next to it Victory (! !), That being the Name of Lord Nelson's Ship, I ask'd how it came to be. When the American Commodore replied, ' I had a hard matter to settle between the Crews of those two Guns, as the whole of them had serv'd in the Victory under Lord Nelson's Flag, & in the Battle of Trafalgar, but as several of Nelson's Bargemen were of the Crew claiming the Name of *Nelson* for their Gun, I decided in their favour.¹—

This may give some Idea how the American Navy was Man'd, & I hope by the many publick Sentiments I have express'd to the Government, that still more effort will be made, by doing Justice to the British Seamen, when serving in our Navy, to reconcile them to the Service of their Country.— Much has been done at my Suggestion, but much more yet remains to be done, or it will Ultimately be, as I have publicly declar'd, The British Seamen has by their peculiar Valour, brought their Nation of Islands to its present State of Greatness. But mind you, reader, if Justice is not done them, they Ultimately, by joining other Nations, particularly America, where the same Blood flows & the same Impressive Language is Spoken, be its utter Destruction.—

¹ This adds a little to the version given in James.

The Reader will not fail to remark that out of our Crew at Quarters of 259 Men there was Officers & Marines, 54; Petty Officers & able Seamen, 83; Ordinary Seamen, of second rate ability, & paid less, 59; & Landsmen, bad of their kind, Chinese, & other Foreigners, 63.—This Force (& perhaps being the worst Man'd Ship in the British Navy¹) opposd to Four Hundred thorough bred, Prime British Seamen, & 78 Officers & Rifle Men as Marines, Natives of America, could not be expected to do much Service, where oppos'd as here stated.—

But the Admiralty, on hearing of the Capture of the *Macedonian*, gave General Publick Orders that our Frigates were not to seek Battle with those

¹ This does not confirm the statement of Roosevelt (Laird Clowes, vi. 42) that 'The *Macedonian* was reputed to be a crack ship and Captain Carden had exercised every care to gather a crew of picked, first-rate seamen. Both he and his first lieutenant, David Hope, were merciless disciplinarians and kept the crew in order by the unsparing use of the lash, in which they seemed positively to delight. They were feared even more than they were hated, and the discipline of the ship was seemingly perfect, but they made the men detest the service'. This statement seems to be based, as is much of Mr. Roosevelt's account, on the autobiography of Samuel Leech, one of the crew of the *Macedonian*. However, as Leech subsequently enlisted in the United States Navy, his testimony is not above suspicion, and his statements cannot be held to deserve the importance Mr. Roosevelt attaches to them.

of our American Enemy.¹—Though had I acted agreeable to this, the Admiralty's subsequent Order, I should have Suffer'd an Ignominuous Death for Cowardice. This Order was also extended to our smaller Ships of the Line.²—The Enemy could not have brought the Macedonian to Battle, as She Saild much faster than the Enemy, But it became my duty to Chase & bring an Enemy to Battle, whom we soon found, as was presuppos'd, to be Overwhelmingly Superior, & did create a feeling in my mind, which the reader cannot convey to his, as no other Earthly can equal it in its consequent distress of Suffering & acuteness.—

And now, I believe, having fully explaind the Superiority of the Force I had to contend with, I shall have recourse to my Narrative. But I must first mention that, having Spoken a Neutral Vessel bound to Cork, I had permission from the American Commodore to send my Purser in her, with my Publick letter to the Admiralty (which see at Appendix N^o 10).—

Without any Incident worth remarking the United States, American Frigate, & her Prize,

¹ This order applied to frigates whose main battery consisted of 18 pounders; they were forbidden to engage American frigates with 24 pounders (cf. the *Croker Papers*, i. 44), and were directed to cruise in pairs or small squadrons.

² There seems no foundation for this statement.

arrivd at New London, in the State of Connecticut, the end of November as before mention'd.¹—

Myself & Officers had constant Invitations to the Tables of the Inhabitants of the first order, & the great inconvenience I felt was to pay constant & equal attention to so very kind & large a Community of Persons.—It being the Season of the Year when the Natives are more particularly Festive, the whole day driving in Sleighs, & the greater part of the Night in Social recreation, no vacant hour appear'd.—

I must here relate a circumstance that occur'd during my Passage to Norfolk in Virginia as before Stated at Page 255.—On the Coast of America I fell in with a Schooner bound to Charleston, loaded with Potatoes & Cheese, from Boston.—They had been blown off the Coast during very heavy Gales, Split all their Sails, & were quite out of knowledge of their situation or bearing of the Land.—The Potatoes had heated in the Hold, being Stow'd in Bulk, & consequently the Cheese had melted, & their other Provisions & water Expended.—Not being then War I boarded her, & set my Men to work to repair her Sails, gave her all the Supplies she needed, & in accordance with our Naval Instructions, took her Commander's order & receipt for the amount being paid to the British Government.—We plac'd her in good Seaworthy Order, with the

¹ James (v. 403) says it was December 4.

true Latitude & Longitude & course to be Steer'd for Charleston, & parted Company with their many thanks for our kindness.—

About a Month after our Stay in New London I was one day whilst at Dinner sent to to say a dozen People wish'd to see me. I was loth to move unless I knew what the party wanted, when the helper (I must not call them Servants in the United States) came in & explaind that they were the Families of the Men of that Schooner I had lately succour'd on the Coast, & as the Lives of their Fathers had been restord to them by my kindness, they came to pay their Respects, & could not leave the House without seeing the good British Captain.—I was of course oblig'd to leave the Table to see them.—I cannot describe the feelings they evinc'd, and the seeming Heartfelt Exclamation of 'Oh! Dear British Captain, we wish from our Hearts you could have taken the American Frigate, for no American would have shown us so much kindness in distress as you did.'—I left the Party seemingly delighted with the sight of me, which they declar'd was only Mar'd by seeing me a Prisoner.—They spread the Tale of my kindness on the occasion throughout the City of New London, & if any thing could enhance the kindness of its Inhabitants, this detail completed it.¹—

¹ It should be remembered that, as Mahan shows (*War of 1812*),

Having now receivd an Invitation from New York to Visit that Metropolis of that state, I obtaind leave of the Marshal of the District of New London for such purpose, & having Visited the Prison of my Crew, & all being arrang'd, I started with Mr Stewart, the late British Consul, & arrivd with good Post Horses at Newhaven in due course.— This being the Seat of the Colledge¹ of the State, I propos'd waiting here the night, to look into its Formula & arrangements.—And while I was examining its interior, was accosted by a Man who said, 'Sir, I am sent by the Marshal of the District of New London to require your return there Direct, as your leave of absence is necessarily put an end to.'—I consulted Mr Stewart, & found no alternative was left, & back I was oblig'd to return; by the same conveyance I had come, & in Charge of the Marshal's Officer.—

On my arrival at New London I saw the Marshal, & ask'd him how it became necessary he should break his grant of Leave, & subject me to such degrading Insult. He replied, 'I will tell you plainly; it has arisen from an Order from the President² of the United States.—Sir John Beres—the New England states were strongly opposed to the war, hence the favourable treatment Carden received.

¹ i. e. Yale College, established in 1701.

² James Madison, then serving his first term of office (1809-13); he was re-elected in 1813 and served till 1817.

ford,¹ Captain of the British Ship of War Poictieurs, has Captur'd an American Sloop of War,² & found the Boatswain of her to have been his Coxswain, & an Englishman, in a Frigate he had previously Commanded.—This said Man is known to be plac'd in Irons at Bermuda, to be tried by a British Court Martial, & will, it is suppos'd, be Hung as a Rebel found in Arms against his Country, & should such prove to be the case, the President of the United States has determin'd on the like Punishment to you, as being now the Senior Officer now a Prisoner in the United States.—I am consequently oblig'd to limit your Parole, & as you value your Life, be careful not to exceed it.'—

I replied that such Parole was not consistent with the Honour I had Originally pledg'd, & requested him to consider I would no longer hold it binding, preferring a Prison to such grievous restriction, and that whatever his conclusion might be, I should feel myself a close Prisoner clear of Parole.—

This decision of the American Government was felt by all classes in New London as Arbitrary and unjust, & to me Violently so.—A deputation of the Inhabitants waited upon me & said, 'Sir, we

¹ Sir J. P. Beresford (1766–1844), natural son of the first Marquis of Waterford: Captain R.N. 1795, Rear-Admiral 1814, Vice-Admiral 1821, Admiral 1838, Baronet 1814.

² The *Wasp*, 18 guns, taken on October 18, 1812, just after she had taken the British sloop *Frolic* 18; cf. James, v. 390–3.

applaud your Conduct in the case of this uncall'd for decision of our President.—Let the Marshall place you in Prison ; We have made all arrangements for breaking your Prison open, & we have prepared one of our best Long Island Boats, & such of your Crew as you wish shall be releas'd from Prison, & accompany you in said Boat.—She shall be well provision'd & Stor'd, with Compass & Charts, & with your guidance may well reach your Ships on the Coast with Safety.'—

I express'd my Gratitude for this great mark of their Esteem, & waited in the hope of a Prison.—But the Marshal of the District was too well aware of the feelings of the Inhabitants of his District.—The next day a Person high in the Secrets of the Government, call'd on me, & said (He was true English at Heart), ' It will be gratifying to you to add a Ship of Superior Force to the one Captur'd from you to the list of the British Navy, & I now tell you, Commodore Rogers¹ in the President is about to Sail from Boston for the North Sea, the Coast of Holland, Jutland, &c. He will be there about the time I name ; you can venture to write & inform your Admiralty on the Subject.'—

¹ John Rodgers had hoisted his pennant on the U.S. frigate *President* 44, when she engaged the *Little Belt* 20, in May 1811 (cf. James, v. 275–82), and had continued on board the same frigate all through the war. For the cruise on which he was starting at this time, cf. James, vi. 69–72.

He retir'd from me, nor did I know his Name, or heard further on the Subject.—I weigh'd in my mind the advantage it would be to my Country, & satisfaction to myself, to be the means of Capturing the Bragadocia Commodore Rogers in his Ship President, & also the chance of being Hung, or shot as a Spy, should my Letter of such Information to the Board of Admiralty & Sir John Warren,¹ who Commanded our Naval force on the Coast of America, be Intercepted.—I well consider'd the Fate of Major André,² who under similiar circumstances was Shot during the last American War.—But Love of Country prevail'd, I wrote the Admiralty & Sir John Warren, the Admiral in Chief on the Coast, the said Information I receiv'd, and awaited anxiously to hear that the Vessel by which I had sent such letters had arriv'd safely at Bermuda. It surely was fortunate she arriv'd safe, and my letters honorably deliver'd.—

It is here the proper place to remark that, although bitter War was now existing between America &

¹ John Borlase Warren (1753–1822): Rear-Admiral 1799, Vice-Admiral 1805, Admiral 1810, created a Baronet 1775, Commander-in-Chief on the North American Station from 1813 till the spring of 1814, when indifferent health forced him to be recalled (cf. James, vi. 168), cf. p. 107 n.

² Cf. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, iii. 328–31; or Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, v. 48 sqq.

England, the Northern States were averse to it,¹ & the Communication with Bermuda & our West India Islands, from those States, was much kept up.—And such was the Extreme Jealousy between the Northern & Southern States of America on this War Question, that I feel Confident now, as I did then, That had England continued the War another Year the Northern States would have separated from the Union.—But the long and Harrassing War in Europe Sickened England in Purse & Nerve to prolong the Contest.—

The great attentions of the Natives of New London made my Situation among them as comfortable & as pleasant as the Reader can suppose.—And in the end February an Exchange of Prisoners was arrang'd, By which I was Enabled to Embark in a Cartel, with my Officers & remaining Crew. I say remaining, for every Artifice was had recourse to to get the Crew to Desert the Prison & to join their Service, which some did, before our Sailing for Bermuda.²—

I soon found our Cartel Brig was badly Man'd & worse Officer'd, & consequently had a good look out kept, & myself kept the Ships reconing also, So that the Ship should not be lost for the want of

¹ Cf. p. 272 note.

² Cf. James, v. 403 : only some foreigners and impressed Americans seem to have taken the opportunity to quit the British service.

a good look out, though I had no authority more than any other Passanger.—Aware of our approach to the Island of Bermuda, I was on Deck with some of my best Men, Anxiously looking out for the Reef of Rocks which surrounds this Island, & when all was still, except the Fresh Gale & heavy Sea, I discover'd at two in the Morning the Sea breaking on the said Reef of Rocks.—I now took Command of the Ship, the Commander not being on Deck, hauld the Ship off, & got the Sails Reef'd by my Seamen in good time.—For had I not thus kept the look out, no being among us in half an hour could have been Savd.—We lay off under close reef'd Sails until day light, & then enter'd the Harbour all well.—

It was now the beginning of March.¹ All hands were Landed. I took Lodgings, & the Officers & Crew were found Quarters.—I receivd great attention from all parties, but felt most anxious for the Arrival of a sufficient number of the Fleet to compose a Court Martial, to Try me, my Officers, & Crew, for the loss of the Macedonian; & not until the end of May, did they arrive.—On the 27th day of May the Court assembled, & by adjournment continued on the 28th, 29th & 31st of said Month.—I felt confident of my Situation, & did not hire any Counsel or advisor, But left my Officers & Crew to relate our Capture in their

¹ 1813.

own plain way. And as I knew the Court Martial consisted of Chiefly the best and most Honorable of our Service, had no fear for the Result.—and after a long protracted investigation, & deliberate Conclusion. The Reader will find the Final, and Official Sentence of such Court Martial, in the Appendix N^o 12.¹—

My anxious wish now was to return to England, & no Man of War being likely to be spar'd, or need return, I took my passage in the regular Arm'd Packet, for which I paid Forty Guineas.—She Sail'd in a few days, & as I was charg'd by the Commander in Chief with his Dispatches to the Admiralty, as a matter of much favour, we Saild, & had a good passage Home. I Landed at Falmouth, My Dispatches paying on Publick account a Chaise & four Horses to London, where I arrivd in due time & deliver'd my Dispatches.—

See Appendix N^o 13 & 14.—

Sir William Hope² & Sir Joseph Yorke,³ two of the then Naval Lords of the Admiralty, came down direct to the waiting room to Congratulate

¹ Cf. also James, v. 402–3.

² William Johnstone Hope (1766–1831): Rear-Admiral 1812, Vice-Admiral 1819; at the Admiralty 1807–9 and again 1820–8: it would seem that Carden is inaccurate in describing him as at this time a member of the Board.

³ Joseph Sydney Yorke (1768–1821), at the Admiralty 1808–18, Rear-Admiral 1810, K.C.B. 1815, Admiral 1820.

me on my safe return, & while we were conversing, the Secretary, John Wilson Croker¹ came in, rushing between them, & grasping my hand between both of his most warmly express'd his Congratulations.—I was surely very much gratified at my reception, & sent my Card to the first Lord of the Admiralty (Lord Melville), & was by him receiv'd with every mark of Respect, and put the question to him direct, 'I hope, My Lord, My Conduct as Captain of the Macedonian has met your Approbation.'—His reply was, 'How could it do otherwise, Captain Carden?'—I express'd my Gratification to his Lordship, for his unreserv'd express'd approval, & adverted to the Information I had given him, at the great risk of my Life & of an Ignominious Death, respecting Commodore Rogers, as narrated previously at Page 276.—His Lordship replied that he had receiv'd my Letter of Information, but that it was impossible to send in every direction to meet information directed to the Board of Admiralty.—I press'd the very accuracy of my Report, but it was of no avail.—Two days after I found on my return to my Hotel a Note from Lord Melville, requiring my attendance at the Admiralty the next Morning.—I was there at the time Specified, & on appearing before Lord Melville He said, 'Captain

¹ John Wilson Croker (1780–1857), Secretary to the Admiralty 1810–30.

Carden, I have receivd Information of the arrival of the American Commodore Rogers on the Cruising Ground your Letter informd me in the North Sea, where he has done much Damage, & have sent in Pursuit of him.'—I remark'd that I would not have risk'd my Life on & by transmitting such Information to the Board of Admiralty had I not known it to have been quite correct, & retir'd from his Lordship.—I was met on the Lobby by Mr Croker, the Secretary to the Admiralty, who call'd me into his Office & said, ' Captain Carden (pulling down a large Map), *If we* give you a Ship, where would you go in pursuit of Commodore Rogers ? ' (For I had ask'd Lord Melville if any Ship ready for Sea & by any means Vacant, & he would appoint me for the occasion, I had hope to fall in with the American Commodore). But Mr Croker's Interrogatory to me threw me quite aback, and I could not for the moment Imagine who he meant by '*We*'.—Naval Dicipline knows none equal to the Lords of the Admiralty, and I replied, as the Reader will say, perhaps, unadvisedly, ' If their Lordships of the Admiralty are pleas'd to send me in pursuit of Rogers I shall pursue the dictate of the best Judgment I can form.'—This was too severe a rebuke to Mr Croker's overbearing Arrogance, even my not considering him equal to a Lord of the Admiralty, & I have reson to believe

he wish'd to be consider'd superior to them all as a Board, but the sudden dictate of my mind could not admit of it.—Mr Croker turn'd round short on his heel, without the common expression of good Morning, & from that hour us'd all the powerful Influence he possess'd with the first Lord (Melville) to deteriorate & destroy my future prospects in the Service.—

I know he had frequently met the Stern rebuke of Individual Lords of the Admiralty for his Usurpation of authority, but there is one case I will here relate, & which will clearly Exemplify to the Reader the very assumptive Arrogance of this said Mr Croker, who happen'd to be on a Visit to Brighton, where a Sloop of War was at Anchor in the Roads, & on his Visiting that Vessel he suggested to her Captain the Propriety of his being Saluted by the same number of Guns as though he were a Lord of the Admiralty, and which by the said Captain was duly attended to. The Salute was fir'd.—On the Admiralty hearing of this undue Tribute of Respect to their Secretary, most strongly express'd their disapproval of the said Captain's Conduct, and did so Strongly urge on Lord Melville the necessity of a Reprimand, that the Admiralty as a Board guiding the right Arm of the Nation (the Navy) Directed this said Secretary, Mr Croker, to write a severe Reprimand to the Captain of the

said Ship of War for having paid such Honour to a Personage to whom it was in no wise due, and directed that the Price of the Gunpowder so expended should be plac'd against the Captain's Pay of such Ship.—But notwithstanding all this Mr Croker had such Influence with Lord Melville as shortly after this occurrence to obtain for this delinquent Commander of the said Sloop of War the Rank of Post Captain.—I heard of & knew a Man in Publick Life from North Britain, who made a Rule of never expressing dissent, however a word in Season for good it might have been, to his Superiors.—And that Man got on in the World, beyond his expectation.—But such has not & never can be my Temperament.—I hope ever to reply without dissembling, & give Honor only to whom Honour is due, But to none or any Person to give a Judgment contrary to the dictate of my Conscience.—

As the Reader may naturally conclude, my repeated applications for Employment were unattended to.—In fact Mr Croker, under the high protection of Lord Melville, now rul'd the Board of Admiralty, and as in my case, Woe to him who did not pay homage to this Tyrant, who work'd the Engine in the dispensation of the Gifts & favours of said Board.—I had made constant, & generally to the Publick Board as well as Individual, application to the Admiralty for Employment.—At length

in the year 1825, during an Interview with that great Officer Sir George Cockburne,¹ he said to me, ' You ask for the Command of the Fleet in Ordinary at any of the Ports, & I have no hesitation in saying you ought to have it, & though as Senior Sea Lord of this Board I cannot say you shall have it, yet I will tell the first Lord (Melville) you ought to have it.'—

This was too Powerful a demand to be resisted, & in October 1825 I received such appointment to & at Sheerness.—This appointment was then under the Navy Board, but the officers were always namd by the Board of Admiralty.—

I joined my Port Command in due Season, & hoisted my Broad, or Commodore's, Pendant on Board His Majesty's Ship Bruno,² but latterly on board the Ocean of 98 Guns, of which Ship I had been formerly Captain in the Mediteranean.³—No circumstance in the Period of this half Sea Life would be of Interest to the Reader.—Keeping the Fleet of Ships Ventilated, at Moorings in a close Harbour, & all clean, Compris'd the Duty to be Performd.—

¹ George Cockburn (1772–1853): Rear-Admiral 1812, Vice-Admiral 1819, Admiral 1837, Admiral of the Fleet 1851, K.C.B. 1815, G.C.B. 1818, succeeded to the Baronetcy 1852. At this time he was a Lord of the Admiralty. In 1815 he was employed in taking Napoleon to St. Helena, and from 1815 to 1816 was Governor of St. Helena.

² *Sic* MS. Possibly the *Brune* 28, a French frigate captured at Corfu in 1799.

³ Cf. pp. 234 ff.

During my Command at Sheerness, of three Years duration, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence¹ became Lord High Admiral, & afforded me the frequent high Honour of being in his Society & that of his Most Amiable Dutchess.—And by all she was most deservedly & Most Affectionately Esteemd, & all Vied in dutiful Respect to her.—

At this Period Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood² had the Command of the Port of Chatham, & who was a great favorite of the Lord High Admiral, & from his great Gallantry & successful Naval Exertions was assuredly most deservedly so.—

The Subject of the Emancipation of the Roman Catholicks, 1828, now became the all engrossing Topic of the Nation, and to obtain which the Lord High Admiral took a most Zealous Interest, and in which it appear'd Sir Henry Blackwood became a warm Partisan.—I was one day Dining with the Admiral, & with a party of Twenty Officers & others, when after Dinner was clear'd off the said Subject of Emancipation became Broach'd, and to my utter astonishment Sir Henry Blackwood said to me, 'Captain Carden, I am aware of your

¹ Afterwards King William IV.

² Henry Blackwood (1770–1832): Captain 1795, Rear-Admiral 1814, Vice-Admiral 1821, created a Baronet 1814, K.C.B. 1819. He is perhaps best remembered for his connexion with Nelson, under whom he served at Trafalgar in command of the frigate *Euryalus* 36.

Connections in Ireland, with the Family of Templemore, the Lords Normanby¹ & Rossmore², the Pennifeathers &c &c—and I hope you are ready to help us with your Influence In the Emancipation of the Roman Catholicks.' All eyes were fixd on me, & after some slight hesitation I replied : ' During my sojourn in the Naval Service I think I have taken up fifteen Commissions, in the Grades of Lieutenant, Commander, & Captain, & at each of which periods I was necessiated³ to make a Solemn Oath on the Bible That the Doctrine of the Pope was A Damn'd Hereticecal Scism, & which Oath, you, Sir Henry, have perhaps taken as often.—I must say I look with Awe on the probability of seeing a Roman Catholick Priest on board one of our Ships of War, as an Antagonist to our True Holy Catholick Church & Faith.—I am also persuaded that no concession of this sort will prove final in the Breasts of those restless spirits of Romanism, & that such a measure will only tend to urge them on, Step

¹ Sir Henry Phipps (1755–1831), who succeeded his brother Constantine John (1744–99) as second Baron Mulgrave in 1792, was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Pitt's last Ministry, resigned in January 1806, was First Lord of the Admiralty in the Portland Ministry from 1807–10, created Earl of Mulgrave and Viscount Normanby 1812.

² W. W. Westenra succeeded as second Baron Rossmore 1801 : his sister married Sir J. Carden of Templemore, created Baronet 1787.

³ *Sic MS.*

after Step, Seeking, until the Supremacy of the Throne falls into their Grasp.—Which may God avert, & assuredly his Mercy will so avert, & to it I leave this awful Subject.—But as far as my efforts might tend, I do most firmly avow my determination not to concede one particle of my approval for the accomplishment of the subject of your Application to me.’—

This firm & pithy reply was assuredly reported to Head Quarters, and though I might have, at the expense of every Sacred feeling & of every Conscious Dictate of Truth, brought myself into high consideration, & freed myself from the blighting arrogance of the Secretary to the Admiralty, I do still at this day congratulate myself on my truly Conscientious reply, and see daily & plainly, with much regret, that my Prognosticks of the restless Spirits of the Romanists are fully verified.—

The Reader will perhaps say, the result of this work of Conscience has now, & here, put a stop to my future Prospects in Naval affairs.—And though I may be under the Ban of disapproval by some of my Readers, I feel assured the greater number will approve.—I ask you, Reader, to look at Ireland, from the day of Emancipation of the Romanists, to this day, I write, in 1850, & then say how long that Country has been on the Verge of or in open Rebellion against England, & how Prone to Blood-

shed, Murder, & the absence of Brotherly Love, the very essential Bond of true Christians.—I again ask the Reader to look at Europe, & see in those parts where the Romanist Religion prevails, whether at this Day, the utmost confusion does or does not prevail, with indecision of belief, consequently restlessness of spirit, or no belief at all.—And also consider to what extent Person or Property are or have been for more than Sixty Years at all Secure, or how & when under Papal Authority it may be likely to become the Bond of Peace, & good Fellowship, in Unity of Spirit.—Then look to God, with a Grateful Heart, & to your own Country Great Britain under the Holy Catholick Faith, and Praise that God with a Grateful Heart for the Prosperity, quietude, & protection of Person & Property you so fully enjoy, Far exceeding any other People on Earth.—I am fully persuaded I have chosen the right Idea & declaration on this Subject, and am fully of opinion that it has work'd well under a good Providence, to my attainment of the Comforts of this Life, which I feel I enjoy to a great extent.—

I now return to my Narrative as far as the year 1842. I feel gratified in stating that on the Publick testimony of my Battle of the United States, American Ship of War, being fully Establishd, I was Honor'd by the Freedom of the Cities of Worcester, Gloucester, and the Borough of Tewks-

bury. As a proof of the Spirit & feeling that dictated the same I record that of the City of Worcester at Appendix N^o 15.—Those Cities & Borough Surround the Ancient & goodly Mansion which is still Hereditorally Inhabited by John Surman Esq^r, Deputy Lieutenant of the County, Captain in the County Militia, & an Active Magistrate therein (Treddington Court, near Tewkesbury & wherein I was Born, and for Hundreds of Years the Residence of my good Mothers Family) & such a mark of approval of my Conduct must ever remain Grateful to my feelings.—

I also receivd the Freedom of the United Burghs of Burnt Island in Fifeshire, Scotland, as a mark of their approval of my Conduct while in Command of our Naval Flotilla, in the Years 1803, & 4,¹ When Buonaparte declard his Intention to Invade our Shores with what he vainly term'd His Army of England.—The opposers of my furtherance in the Naval Service being Scatter'd to the Winds, or calld to their long Account, I was Honor'd by the Admiralty with a Pension of 150£ per annum for good & Meritorious Services, as Recorded in Appendix N^o 16.—I have also been Honord by a War Medal for Conduct in Battles fought with the Enemies of my Country, to which is appended a Clasp for the Battle of the Glorious

¹ Cf. pp. 203-5.

first of June 1794, one also for the Battle, as first Lieutenant of the Fishguard, in taking L'Immortalité in 1798. And one also for Services rendered in oblidging the French to Surrender their whole Army in Egypt in 1801, being then Commander of His Majestys Ship Sheerness, Armd en flute. (See Appendix N^o 17.)—I have also receivd the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament for approvd Conduct In the Battle of the Glorious first of June 1794, For approvd Conduct on the Invasion of Holland by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, being then in Command of His Majestys Ship Sheerness, before namd, in 1799.—Also as Commander of said Ship on the Expedition to & Destruction of the French Army in Egypt 1801. For General good Conduct at the Conclusion of the War in 1802. And also for my Services at the Battle of Corunna, as Captain of His Majesty's Ship Ville de Paris of 110 Guns in 1809.—On which occasion, from what I witness'd, I never can cease to admire the Glory display'd by the British Army under Circumstances the most Harrassing.—And now, my good Reader, if your well tir'd Patience has enabled you to wade through this strangely Compild Memoir, as strangely it must be, for you are full aware that, My Life in all its Bustle and early Toils must have precluded my attainment by Scholastic Education, of placing this Memoir before you, in a more Gramatical

& Systematical Shape.—But surely I may say with the Poet,

The little Knowledge I have gaind,
Was all from Simple Nature traind.—

And now having fully detaild in my own way, from data I possess & memory which must soon fail me, My Progress through Life, I have only left to state that after the termination of my Command at Sheerness I resided in Cornwall, Bath, North Wales, Cheltenham, & in London. In the Year 1842, My Daughter, & only Surviving Child, Was most Happily Married to the Reverend William Henry Biedermann, Vicar of Egham, Surrey, and with whom I now Reside, enjoying all the Comforts this World can afford.—But none of us know what the Morrow may bring forth.—Yet I trust in a Merciful God, that I may continue in the Comforts that Surround me until Time with me shall be no more.¹—

¹ Admiral Carden died April 22, 1858, at Ramoan Rectory, Co. Antrim, and was buried behind the chancel of Ramoan Church.

APPENDIX TO THIS NARRATIVE

N^o 1, PAGE 197.

His Majesty's Ship Trident,
Bombay Harbour, February 28th

1803

Sir,

The Honorable the Governor in Council at this Presidency having by Letter of the 26th Instant Expressd to me the great Importance of the Vigorous Exertions of yourself, Officers, & Crew in opposing and finally terminating the Progress of the dreadful & destructive Fire that broke out in this Capitol, It is with much Satisfaction I herewith transmit you at their request a copy of their Letter to me on this occasion.—And likewise request you will be pleasd to cause the same to be read to the Officers & Crew of the Ship you Command. To

J^{no} S. CARDEN, Esq^r,
Commander of His
Majesty's Ship
Sheerness.

I remain, Sir,
Your very humbe Servant,
PETER RAINIER.

Commander in Chief of His
Majesty's Ships & Vessels
in India.

See the Governors Letter on next page.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
VICE ADMIRAL RAINIER, &c &c &c

Sir,

It is a Duty which we owe your Excellency to Express the very high sense we entertain of the particular & most useful assistance derivd from the presence of your Excellency on the occasion of the Calamitous events of the 17th Inst, And of the Captains, Officers, & Men of His Majesty's Squadron under your Excellency's Command.—From whose Active interposition and uncommon Exertions every practicable opposition was made to the extension of the Conflagration.—But for which we might have yet had to lament far greater Devastation than has unhappily occurd.—

Under the most grateful Impressions, from the Zeal & Cordiallity of the Aid thus Experienc'd, we have the Honour to offer to your Excellency personally our most Heartfelt Acknowledgements of the Advantage thus derivd to our Capital, by your Excellency's presence in it, at the Season of this Disaster, and to request your Excellency will be pleas'd to Convey to the Commanders, Officers, & Men, who exerted themselves so Meritoriously on this awful occasion, our Sincere thanks for the great fatigue they so Cheerfully

underwent, the Memory of which must be Coeval
in this Settlement with its duration as a British
Possession.

We have the Honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's Most Obedient
Humble Servants,

JONATHAN DUNCAN.

J. W. CHERRY.

THOMAS LECHMERE.

Bombay Castle,
February 26th }
1803. }

APPENDIX N^o 2, FROM PAGE 220.

By the Honorable
Robert Stopford, Rear Admiral
of the Blue, &c &c

In pursuance of Directions which I have received from William Young,¹ Esq^r, Admiral of the Blue, &c &c &c, you are hereby directed to Hoist my Flag on board His Majesty's Ship under your Command, on the same being haul'd down this Evening at Sunset from on board the Spencer, bearing me & M^r John Swaflen, my Secretary, on your Supernumerary list until you receive further Orders.

Given under my hand, on board the Spencer
this 13th Nov^r 1808.

To JOHN S. CARDEN, Esq^r,
Captain of His
Majestys Ship
Ville de Paris.

By Command of the Rear Admiral,
JOHN SWAFLEN.

¹ W. Young (1751-1821): Rear-Admiral 1795, a Lord of the Admiralty 1795-1801, Admiral 1805, Commander-in-Chief at Plymouth 1804. He served on Lord Gambier's court martial, and it is alleged by James (iv. 425) that he evinced a strong bias in favour of the accused.

APPENDIX N^o 3, PAGE 233.

By the Officers for Executing the
Office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain & Ireland, &^e &^c &^c.

You are hereby requir'd & directed to Proceed without loss of Time in the Ship you Command to Cadis, & putting yourself under the Command of Lord Collingwood, the Admiral & Commander in Chief, of His Majesty's Ships & Vessels in the Mediteranean, Follow such Orders as you may receive from Rear Admiral Purvis for your further Proceedings.

Given under our hands this
9th day of February 1809.

To Captain
J^{no} S. CARDEN
Commanding
H.M. Ship the
Ville de Paris. }

R. BICKERTON.¹
W^m JOHNSTONE HOPE.²
JA^e BULLER.

By Command of their Lordships,
JOHN BARROW.

¹ Sir R. H. Bickerton (1759-1832) : Rear-Admiral 1799, second in command under Nelson in Mediterranean 1804-5, Admiral 1810.

² Cf. p. 279.

APPENDIX N^o 4, FROM PAGE 236.

By Sir James Saumarez, Bart., K.B., Vice
Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in
Chief of His Majesty's Ships & Vessels
Employd on a Particular Service.

Pursuant to Orders from the Lords Commis-
sioners of the Admiralty, you are hereby requird
& directed to put yourself under my Command,
& follow all such Orders & Directions as you shall
from time to time receive from me for His Majesty's
Service.

Given under my hand on board H.M. Ship
Victory in Hano Bay, this 7th day of July, 1810.

To J^{no} S. CARDEN Esq^r }
Captain of H.M. }
Ship Mars. }

By Command of the Vice Admiral,
SAMUEL CHAMPION.

APPENDIX N^o 5, PAGE 245.

By the Commissiones for Executing
the Office of Lord High Admiral of
the United Kingdom of Great Britain
Ireland, &^c &^c &^c.

You are hereby requird & directed to put yourself
under the Command of the Right Honorable Lord
Gambier, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's
Ships & Vessels, Employ'd, & to be Employ'd in the
Channel Soundings, &^c, and follow his orders for
your further Proceedings.

Given under our hands this 1st day of October
1810.

R. BICKERTON.

W^m DOMET.

JOSEPH YORKE.

To J^{no} S. Carden,
Commanding His
Majestys Ship
Mars, at Spithead.

By Command of their Lordships,
J^{no} W. CROKER.

APPENDIX N^o 6, FROM PAGE 245.

By the Honorable George Cranfield
Berkeley, Admiral of the Blue, &
Commander in Chief of H.M. Ships &
Vessels on the Coast of Spain & Portugal,
Madeira & Western Isles.

You are hereby requird & directed to put yourself
under my Command, & follow such Orders and
directions as you shall from time to time receive
from me, for His Majesty's Service.

Given under my hand on board His Majesty's
Ship Barfleur, in the Tagus, this 28th October
1810.

To J^{no} S. Carden, Esq^r,
His Majestys Ship
Mars.

By Command of the Admiral,
JAMES BAIKIE.

APPENDIX N^o 7, FROM PAGE 248.

LORD VISCOUNT WELLINGTON

Intending to Invest Field Marshal Beresford
with the Order of the Bath, on Wednesday next,
at 5 O'Clock in the Afternoon at Mafra, Requests
the attendance of Captain Carden on the occasion,
& his Company at Dinner afterwards.

Head Quarters, Nov^r 4th 1810.

APENDIX N^o 8, PAGE 250.

By the Commissioners for Executing the
Office of Lord High Admiral, of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain &
Ireland, &c &c &c.

To Captain John Surman Carden, Hereby
appointed Captain of His Majesty's Ship Macedonian.

By Virtue of the Power & authority to us given,
We do hereby constitute & appoint you Captain
of His Majesty's Ship Macedonian, willing &
requiring you forthwith to go on board, & take
upon you the Charge & Command of Captain in
her accordingly.—Strictly charging & Commanding
all the Officers & Company of said ship to behave
themselves jointly & severally in their respective
Employments, with all due respect and obedience
unto you their said Captain.—And you likewise
to observe & Execute the General Printed Instruc-
tions, & such Orders & Instructions as you shall
from time to time receive from us, or other your
Superior Officers for His Majesty's Service.—
Hereof nor you nor any of you may fail, as you will
answer the Contrary at your Peril,—and for so
doing this shall be your Warrant. Given under our

hands, & the Seal of the Office of Admiralty, this 5th day of April 1811. And in the Fifty first Year of His Majesty's Reign.

JOSEPH BULLER.

JOSEPH YORKE.

F. ROBINSON.

By Command of their Lordships,
JOHN BARROW.

APPENDIX N^o 9, FROM PAGE 262.

This is the Exact Statement of Size, Crew, Weight & Number of Guns, in the American Frigate, United States.

Tonnage Measurement	. . .	1578 Tons.
Number of Guns, long 24 Pounders		32.
Carronades, 42 Pounders	. . .	23.
Howitsers in Tops, 8 Pounders	. . .	3.
		—
Total Number of Guns	. . .	58.
Weight of Shot at one discharge	. . .	1758 Pounds,
or at each Broadside	. . .	879 Pounds.

Men in United States.

Officers & Marines		78.
Petty Officers & Able Seamen		400.
Total of Crew		478.

Exact statement of Size, Crew, weight & number
of Guns in the British Frigate Macedonian.

Macedonian Tonnage, measurement	1080 Tons.
Number of Guns, 18 Pounders . . .	28.
Carronades, 32 Pounders . . .	16.
Bow Chasers, long Guns, 12 Pounders . . .	2.
Total number of Guns . . .	46.
Weight of Shot at one discharge . . .	1040 Pounds,
or at each Broadside . . .	520 Pounds.

Men in Macedonian.

Officers & Marines . . .	54.
Petty Officers & Able Seamen . . .	83.
Ordinary, or 2 nd Class Seamen . . .	59.
Landsmen, bad of their Class,	
being Chinese & other	
Foreigners . . .	63.
Total of Crew . . .	259.

Force in favor of American Frigate.

Size of Ship . . .	478 Tons.
Number of Guns . . .	12.
Weight of Shot at one discharge . . .	718 Pounds,
or at each Broadside . . .	359 Pounds.
Number of Crew, all pickd British	
Seamen . . .	219.

Reader, Con this over with Serious Consideration,
& say where the blame was, in our Naval Rulers,
or the Devoted Crew of the Macedonian.

APPENDIX N^o 10 & 11, FROM PAGE 263.

On Board the American Ship
United States, at Sea,
October 28th 1812.

Sir,

It is with the deepest regret I have to acquaint you, for the Information of My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that His Majesty's Ship Macedonian was Capturd on the 25th Ins^t By the American Ship of War, United States, Commodore De Cator Commanding Her, the detail of which is as follows.—

A short time after daylight, steering N.W. by West, with the Wind from the Southward, in Latitude 29 North, & Longitude 29 degrees, 30 miles West, in Execution of their Lordships' Orders, a Sail was seen on the Lee Beam, which I immediately Steerd for, & made her out to be a large Frigate, under American Colours. At 9 Oclock I clos'd with her, & She commencd the Action, which we return'd, but from the Enemy keeping two points off the Wind I was not enabled to bring her to close Battle.—In this Situation I soon found the Enemies Force too Superior to expect Success, but after an Hour's Action the Enemy backd & came to the Wind, when I was enabled to bring her to close Battle, & in this

situation I found the Enemies Force too Superior to hope for Victory, unless some very fortunate chance occur'd in my favour, & still with this Hope I continued the Battle to Two hours & ten minutes.—When having the Mizen Mast shot away by the Bord, Topmasts Shot away by the Caps, Main Yard Shot in pieces, Lower Masts badly Wounded, Lower Rigging all cut in pieces, and a small portion only of the Foresail being left to the Fore Yard, all the Guns on the Quarter Deck & Fore castle being disabled but two, & filld with Wreck, Two also on the Main Deck disabled, & several Shot between Wind & water, a very great proportion of Men killd & wounded, & the Enemy in comparatively good order, who had now shot ahead, & about to place himself in a Raking Position without our being enabled to return her Fire, & being a perfect Wreck, & an unmanageable Log, I deemd it Prudent though a Painful necessity to Surrender His Majesty's Ship. Nor was this Painful extremity had recourse to until every hope of success was remov'd beyond chance, Nor until, I trust their Lordships will be aware, every Effort has been made against the Enemy by myself, My Brave Officers, & Men; Nor should She have been Surrender'd, while a Man livd on board, had she been Managable.—

I am sorry to say our loss has been very severe, I find by this day's Muster Thirty Six Kill'd, Thirty Six Severely Wounded, many of whom

cannot recover, & Thirty two of slighter Wounds, most of whom may recover, Total 104.—The Noble and animating conduct of my Officers, & the Steady Bravery of my Crew, to the last moment of the Battle, must ever render them Dear to their Country.—My first Lieutenant, David Hope, was severely Wounded in the Head towards the close of the Battle, & taken below, but was soon again on Deck, displaying that greatness of mind & Exertion, which though it may be equal'd, cannot be Surpass'd.—The third Lieutenant, John Bulford, was also wounded, but not oblig'd to quit his Quarters, Second Lieutenant Samuel Motley deserves my highest acknowledgements. The cool & steady Conduct of M^r Walker, the Master, was very great during the Battle, as was also that of Lieutenants Wilson & McGill of the Royal Marines.—On being taken on board the Enemies Ship I ceas'd to wonder at the result of this Battle, the United States is Built with the Scantline of a 74 Gun Ship, Mounting Thirty long 24 Pounds on her Main Deck, Twenty two 42 Pounder Carronades on Her Quarter Deck and Forecastle, & two long 24 Pounds & a travelling Carronade to fight on either side, a 42 Pounder, with three Howitser 8 Pounds in her Tops, With a Complement of 478 Pick'd Men.—The Enemy has sufferd much in her Masts, Rigging, & Hull. Her loss in Kill'd & Wounded I am not aware of, but I know a Lieutenant & Six Men were thrown overboard.—

Enclos'd you will receive a list of the names of the
Kill'd & Wounded on Board the Macedonian,
and have the Honor to be Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

J^{no} S. CARDEN.

To JOHN WILSON CROKER, Esq^r,
Secretary to the Admiralty.

APPENDIX N^o II, FROM PAGE 263.

Naval Magazine for 1813.

The Macedonian Plough'd the Seas,
And quartering felt the Southern Breeze ;
The Ruddy Morning broke Serene,
To Leeward, when a Sail was seen,
That Foreign aspect bore.
Now plain discern'd, though yet afar,
The Vessel lay prepar'd for War,
Of azure Pil'd with many a Star,
An Ensign bright she bore.

2nd

The Boatswain's Whistle Shrilly blew,
Loud beat the Drum, the British Crew
To Quarters instant came ;
Each Ardent to his Post repaired,
The Guns cast loose, the Decks all clear'd,
Brave Carden for his Rival steer'd,
A Frigate but in name !!!

He gave the word, & on the Foe
His Thunders hurl'd, aloft, below,
But as Columbia's Broadside blaz'd,
The astounding Roar he heard amaz'd !
Yet onward held his course,
Crowded her Decks, from Van to Rear,
Her Pondrous Guns from two fold Tier,
The Ships which Albion's Chiefs assign
A Station in the Embattled Line
Scarce own Superior Force.

3rd

Nor blindly fearless, nor dismay'd,
The Prudent Chief intent Survey'd
The near approach, but deem'd it ill
To Brave at once the Strength & Skill
Of British Tars ; He dard not Close,
He knew the Temper of his Foes,
Their Bold Impetuous Ire,
But kept away beneath their Lee ;
With all his Canvass Steering Free,
We led them long in Fatal Chace,
Preservd between a varying Space,
And found, though tending every Brace,
And unremitting Fire.

4th

Too soon the Macedonian View'd
The Decks with Shatter'd Rigging strewd,
Her wounded Masts all tottering stood ;
And while her Crew, of Danger Proud,

To Splice her lifts or Braces Crowd,
 Or Yardly Stopper Stay or Shroud,
 Or clear the Guns of Cumbering Wreck,
 With many a Sudden wound,
 The observant Foe their efforts Check,
 From Rifles sweeping every Deck,
 Howitz that send, disdaining Aim,
 Its dreadful Shower in Blast of Flame,
 Promiscuous Fate they found.

5th

Columbia saw their wretched plight,
 And back'd, & clos'd, full well she might,
 And every Nerve of Battle straind.
 The British Ship his Fire sustaind,
 With Grief & Rage his bosom burnd,
 As Wounded to their Posts returnd
 His Brave Lieutenants & again,
 With all their generous efforts Vain,
 Implor'd his last Commands.
 He felt the Fishguard's old Renown,¹
 Yet saw his Shattered band fought down.
 To Bouse the Guns out now they tried,
 'Twas all, they tugg'd, they Bled, they Died,
 The Tacles in their hands.

¹ Captain Carden was first Lieutenant of the *Fishguard* when She Captur'd, after a severe Battle, *L'Immortalité*, a large French Frigate of Superior Force, returning from the coast of Ireland with 300 Troops besides her Complement of Seamen. He was Promoted to the Rank of Commander for his Services on this Occasion, & receiv'd a Clasp to his War Medal from the Board of Admiralty.—[This note forms part of the MS.—Editor.]

6th

Now Silent shot ahead his Foe,
Prepared to strike a deadlier Blow,
Like Eagle hovering O'er his Prey;
A Log the Macedonian lay,
Of half her Crew bereft.
Her Yards were Crippled every one,
Her Mizen Mast, her Topmasts gone,
The happiest Breeze could aught avail,
For of her sole remaining Sail
The Bolt rope scarce was left.

7th

Oh!!! Carden, Spare the Gallant few,
The Remnant of thy faithful Crew,
In Conscious Merit Rest.
Erect the Hostile Deck ascend,
The Victor, proud to call thee Friend,
Thy Valour shall attest.
And if in time's eventful round
That Chief in equal arms be found,
Ah! meet not thus again.
To Glut the Spleen of Ruthless Gaul
By Kindred hands shall Heroes fall.
No!! Soon those Heroes, Foes no more,
In Fleets Combind shall urge their Power
To sweep her from the Main.

Signd, WYNODE,

(alias, John Wilson Croker,

Secretary to the Admiralty.)¹

¹ This seems to be Admiral Carden's own identification.

APPENDIX N^o 12, PAGE 279.

At a Court Martial assembled on Board His Majesty's Ship St Domingo, the 27th & held by adjournment on the 28th, 29th, & 31st days of May 1813. Henry Hotham Esq^r Captain of the Fleet, & Second Officer in Command of His Majesty's Ships & Vessels at Bermuda President.

CAPTAINS.

Sir John Poer Berresford,	Robert Barrie,
Sir Samuel John Pechell,	John Martin Hanchett,
Charles Montague Fabian,	Thomas Graham,

Being all the Captains present, except Andrew Fitsherbert Evans of His Majesty's Ship Ruby, who from ill Health was unable to attend.—

The Court, pursuant to an Order from Sir John Borlace Warren, Bart., K.C.B., Admiral of the Blue & Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels Employ'd & to be Employ'd on the American & West India Station, dated the 25th day of May 1813, and directed to Henry Hotham Esq^r Captain of the Fleet &c &c, Proceeded to enquire into the Conduct of Captain John Surman Carden, the Officers and Company, of His Majesty's late Ship Macedonian, for the Capture of Said Ship of War By the American Ship of War United States, and to Try them respectively for the same.—And having most Strictly Investigated every Circum-

stance, & Examind the different Officers & Company & having very Deliberately & Maturely, weighd & Considered the same, and every part thereof, the Court is of Opinion that before the Commencement of the Action, from an over Anxiety to keep the Weather Gage, an Opportunity was lost of Closing with the Enemy,¹ & that owing to this Circumstance the Macedonian was unable to bring the United States to close Action until she had receiv'd Material Damage.—But as it does not appear that this Commission Originated in the most distant wish to keep back from the Engagement, the Court is of Opinion that Captain John Surman Carden, His Officers & Ship's Company, in every Instance throughout the Battle Behav'd with the *Firmest & most Determind Courage, Resolution, & Coolness*. And that the Colours of the Macedonian *were not Struck Until She was Unable to make further Resistance*.—The Court does therefore and hereby *Most Honorably acquit Captain John Surman Carden, His Officers & Company*, and they are hereby *Most Honorably acquitted accordingly*.—The Court cannot Dismiss Captain Carden without expressing their *High Admiration* of the Uniform Testimony which has been born to his *Gallantry & good Conduct throughout the Action*, Nor Lieutenant David Hope the Senior Lieutenant, the other Officers & Company, without expressing the highest approbation of the

¹ It will be noticed that there is nothing about this 'lost opportunity' in Carden's own account of the battle

Support given by him & them to their Captain, & their Courage & Steadiness during the Contest, with *an Enemy of very Superior Force*, A Circumstance that while it reflects high Honor on them, does no less Credit & Honor to the Discipline of the Macedonian.—The Court feel also a Gratifying Duty to express its Admiration of the Fidelity to their Allegiance, & attachment to their King & Country, which the remaining Crew appear to have Manifested in resisting the Various, Insidious, & repeated temptations, which the Enemy held out to Seduce them from their Duty, which cannot fail to be duly appreciated.—

Signd by the Court.

By Command of the Court,

J^{no} R. Glover, Officiating Judge Advocate.

The President of this Court Martial on its conclusion Thus Address'd Captain Carden.—

I have much Pleasure, Captain Carden, in returning you your Sword, the Honor of which you have so *Nobly Defended*.—And feel assur'd that whenever the Honor of the British Flag is again entrusted to your keeping *it will acquire additional Honors*.

The Crew of the S^t Domingo & the remainder of the Macedonians Man'd the Rigging, & gave Three Hearty Cheers to Captain Carden on his going on Shore, & the Band struck up,

'We will Fight & we will Conquer Again & again.'

APPENDIX N^o 13, FROM PAGE 279.

On the 14th of May 1813 the Subject of the Loss of our Three Frigates in this American War became the subject of enquiry in the House of Lords, when Lord Darnley¹ made the following Speech on the Subject, as reported in the Times Newspaper.—

‘ It was some Satisfaction to the Noble Lord in the Performance of the Invidious Task he had undertaken, however unwillingly, to reflect that upon Ministers only rested the heavy responsibility of the late Disasters.—Of the Officers & Men, who so Gallantly but unsuccessfully Fought, nothing could be uttered but unqualified Applause.—But it was Melancholy to recollect that Efforts which, under other Rulers, might have rais’d the Character of the British Navy even higher than the Pinnacle of Glory it had attained were unavailing.—The Losses we had sustained were owing to no Diminution of the Courage, Skill, & Discipline of our Sailors, and the Names of *Dacres*,² *Carden*, & *Lambert*³ would be handed down to Posterity with Love and Admiration.—All that Human Nature could Effect they had Accomplish’d.—

¹ John Bligh (1767–1831), succeeded as fourth Earl Darnley, 1781.

² Captain of the *Guerrière* 38, which was captured by the United States frigate *Constitution* 44 on August 19, 1812; cf. James, v. 372–89.

³ Captain of the *Java* 38, which was also captured by the *Constitution* on November 28, 1812; cf. James, v. 410–21.

APPENDIX N^o 14, PAGE 279.

Having arrivd with my Dispatches on the 3rd day of July 1813, Which containd the Sentence of the Court Martial held on the Captain, Officers, & Crew of the Macedonian for the loss of said Ship, with the Comments of Sir John Borlace Warren, the Commander in Chief on the American Station, on this subject, I found that on the 5th Inst, that was two days subsequent to my arrival, the Notice of Motion by Lord Cockrane, Now Earl Dundonald, came on for discussion in the House of Commons on the very Despondent state of our Navy, as he stated appear'd by our late losses in this American War.—And to which Motion & Assertion M^r Croker made the following reply, as Secretary to the Admiralty, in the House of Commons, & as reported in the Times Paper.—M^r Croker observ'd, he could, he believ'd, assert, without the fear of Contradiction, that no Person in the House or in the Country, Except the Noble Lord himself, Ever thought of attributing the Captures made from us by the Americans to the Despondent spirit & Heartless state of our crews, & not to the Superior Dimensions & Weight of Metal of the Enemy's Ships.—What would be the Consequence were the Noble Lord's Assertions to be Admitted by the House.—What was the fact with regard to the Java, and the Macedonian.—Were the Brave & Gallant Men who fought the Macedonian, against an Over-

*whelming Superiority of Metal, & an overbearing Superiority of Size & Numbers, Despondent, Faint, & Heartless ?—*The Macedonian had been Fought with such Determin'd Gallantry, & such persevering Intrepidity, as to give the Officers & Men, *an Honour*, that was as *justly Merited*, as it was *Pure and untainted*.—And it was now only attempted to be blown upon by the Noble Lord.—He (Mr Croker) would state on Fact, relating to the Courageous and Dauntless Character of the Crew of that Ship, in the Extremity & Crisis of Danger.—Immediately before the Surrender of the Macedonian, Loud, Cordial, & repeated Cheering was given. He could not better describe the Nature of those Cheers, Nor more adequately Praise the Noble Spirit display'd by the Crew on the Occasion, than by Assuring the House, That the Cheering arose from the Cockpit, and the Wounded & the Dying were those who rais'd the Patriotic Shouts.—Would the Noble Lord call those Men Despondent, Faint, & Heartless, who were not only Susceptible of such Manly & generous feelings, but who were capable of giving to them, even in the bitter moments of Bodily Anguish & Inevitable Death, the Energetic tone & expression so truly Characterestic of British Seamen.—

Several Members of the House of Commons waited on Captain Carden on the following day, to congratulate him on the detail of his Conduct, by the Secretary of the Admiralty, & express'd their

Conviction that on no Occasion was there ever more Heart felt Cheers or of longer continuance than on such detail.—

APPENDIX N^o 15, FROM PAGE 289.

City of Worcester.

In the time of Thomas St John,
Esq^r, Mayor.—

Be it remember'd, that upon the 16th day of August, in the Year of our Lord 1813.—John Surman Carden, Esq^r, Captain in the Royal Navy, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland, was admitted a Citizen of this City, as a mark of their high respect & Veneration the Mayor, Recorder, & Citizens of the same City entertain of his Bravery and good Conduct, while Captain of His Majesty's Ship Macedonian.

BENJAMIN JOHNSTON,
Town Clerk.

APPENDIX N^o 16, FROM PAGE 289.Admiralty, May 19th 1837.

Sir,

Her Majesty by her Order in Council having been Graciously pleas'd to Authorise My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to apply the amount of certain Salaries of Generals & Lieutenant Generals of Marines, as they severally became Vacant, to the Creation of Pensions to be granted by their Lordships from time to time, To Flag Officers, Captains of the Navy, & General Officers of Marines, as Rewards for *Good & Meritorious Services*, I am Commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that they have been pleas'd to Nominate you to one of those Pensions of 150*£* per year.—The Pension in question to Commence from the 1st of April last, and to Continue to you, so long as you shall remain on half Pay, or until you receive further Orders.—

I am, Sir, Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

JOHN BARROW.

To

CAPTAIN JOHN
SURMAN CARDEN. }

APPENDIX N^o 17, FROM PAGE 290.Admiralty, May 13th 1850.

Sir,

I am Commanded by My Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to Transmit to you the Medal, Graciously awarded to you by Her Majesty, for your Services in Egypt.

I have the Honor to be,

Sir,

Your Most Obedient

Humble Servant,

PARS. HAMILTON.

To

VICE ADMIRAL CARDEN, }
 Egham Vicarage,—
 Surrey.—

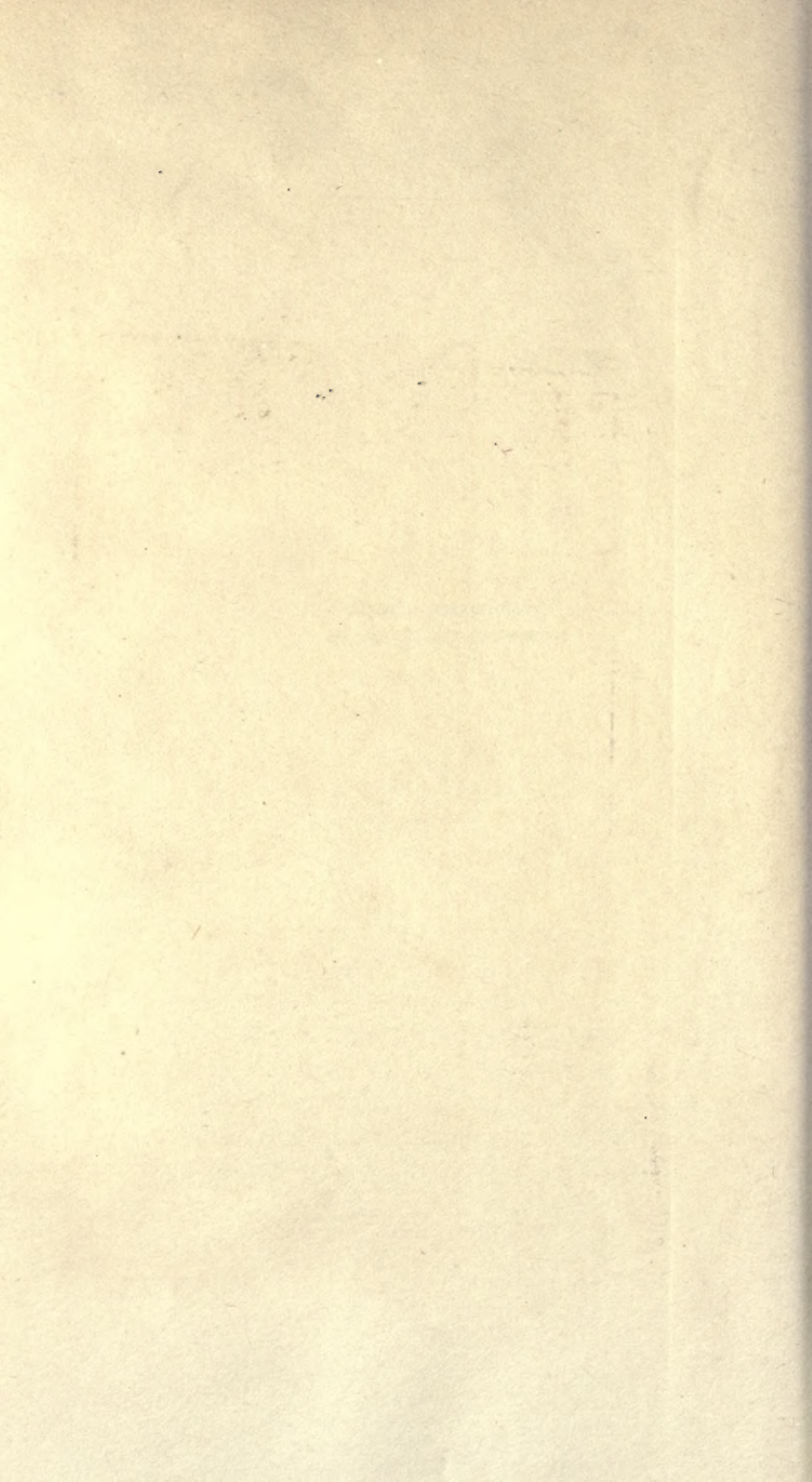
APPENDIX 18.¹

This very Gallant Officer, Sir Edmund Neagle, was as a Lieutenant & a Messmate in same Ship with a Lieutenant Locke.—When one day by accident Lieutenant Locke fell overboard at Sea. The Alarm was given, which was heard from below by Lieutenant Neagle. He sprang on Deck & beheld his Messmate in the last Effort to keep afloat, & was now far Astern of the Ship, & the case seem'd Hopeless.

¹ In the MS. this Appendix is said to be from p. 327, but there is nothing on that page relating in any way to it (cf. p. 286 of the present volume); it is difficult to see with what this story should be connected.

—But in an Instant Lieutenant Neagle jump'd Overboard,—Cheer'd with Stentorian Lungs the last efforts of his Friend, and by powerful Efforts caught Lieutenant Locke, in the act of Sinking, & kept him afloat until a Boat from the Ship rescued both.—This Act of Brave conduct was much spoken of at that time.—Being Successfully Brave, with much Private Influence also, both those Officers soon arriv'd at the Rank of Captain.—When any Opportunity occur'd, Captain Neagle was sure to be out with the Kings Stag Hounds.—On one of those occasions George the 3rd Of Glorious Memory was in the field also, and after the Stag was taken, enquir'd of one of His attendants, who that was who had Rode so very desperate during the Chace,—and was Inform'd it was Captain Neagle of the Navy. When he said, bring him here, bring him up.—So up came Captain Neagle at full Gallop, & was Introducd.—His Majesty said, 'Captain Neagle, you sav'd Captain Locke when he fell overboard at Sea, & were Messmates together as Lieutenants.'—Yes, please your Majesty, I did, replied Captain Neagle.—Then, rejoind His Majesty, 'You are great Friends ; Captain Locke can never forget your Noble, kind exertion.'—Oh no, Please your Majesty ; Never.—I am sure at any time he would go to H—ll for me.—The Party burst out in a Roar of Laughter, & the Prince of Wales, who was present, took Captain Neagle by the hand, and became his Intimate Friend until the day of his Death.—

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Carden, John Surman

A curtail'd memoir of
incidents and occurrences
in the life of John Surman
Carden

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